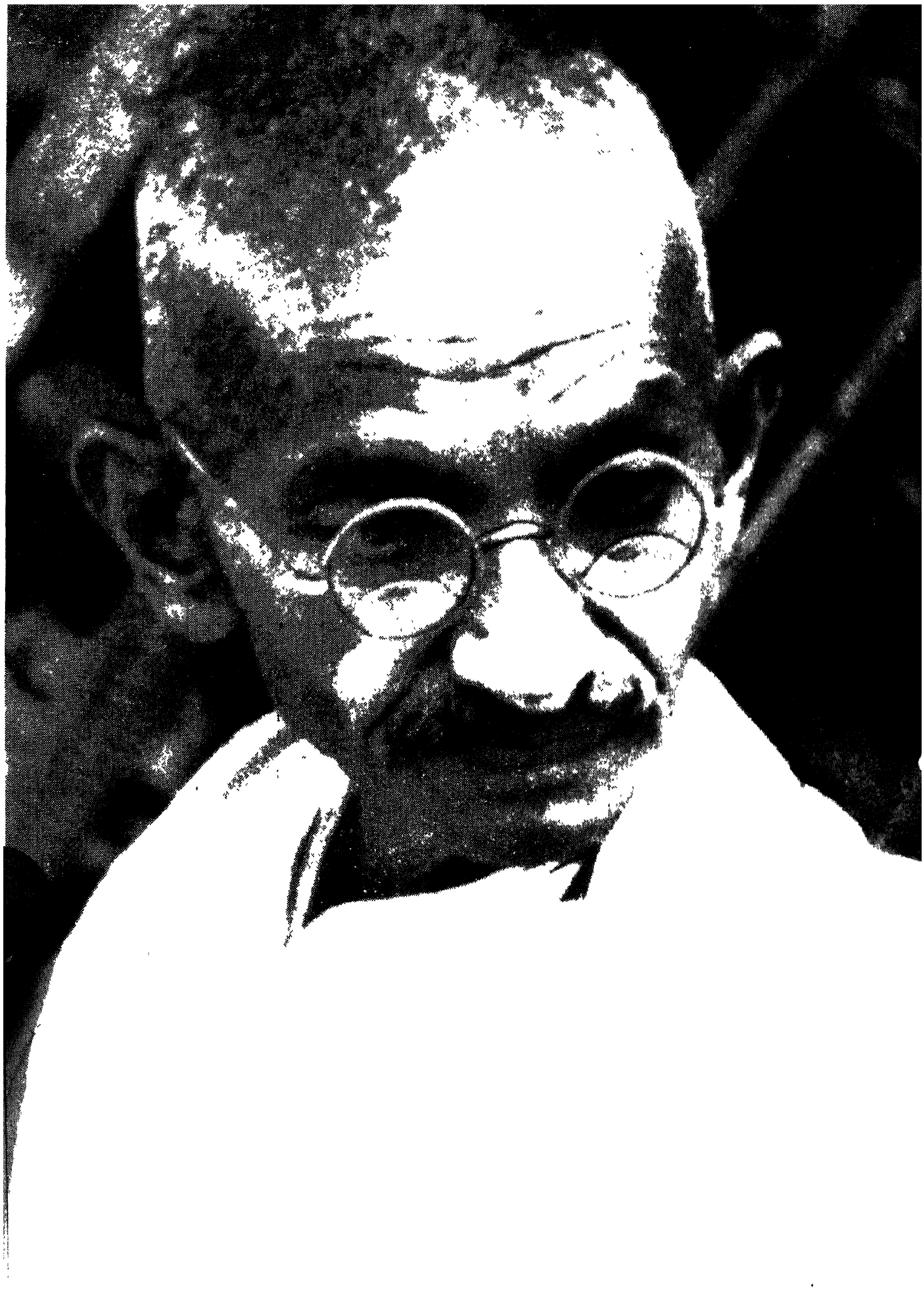


THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XXXVIII

(November 1928 – February 1929)

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PREFACE

This volume, covering the period November 1, 1928 to February 3, 1929, marks the beginning of Gandhiji's direct involvement once again in national politics after an interval of three years. The popular demonstrations against the Simon Commission and the Government's efforts to suppress them, as highlighted by the police assault on Lala Lajpat Rai in Lahore and Jawaharlal Nehru in Lucknow, had aroused a widespread desire in the country for positive action to vindicate national honour. Gandhiji was not yet sure of his power over the masses to be able to lead a non-violent struggle (p. 5), but, yielding to Motilal Nehru's appeal (p. 290), he attended in December the annual session of the Congress at Calcutta, where he took a leading part in guiding the deliberations and evolving a compromise resolution giving one year's ultimatum to the British Government for the acceptance of the national demand. The volume ends with Gandhiji leaving the Ashram, after a month's rest, for a tour of Sind commencing on February 3, 1929, on which date also appeared in *Navajivan* the last instalment of his autobiography.

Gandhiji congratulated Lajpat Rai and Jawaharlal Nehru on the police assault on them. Since the people would have to learn "the art of dying in the country's cause", it was "the most economical thing that leaders get assaulted or shot" instead of obscure people (p. 29). He advised the people "to continue their non-violence in the face of the gravest provocation", so that the demonstrations against the Commission might be regarded "as so many lessons in non-violence preparatory to the final struggle . . ." "That day", he added, "is fast coming, faster than most of us imagine" (p. 162). Lajpat Rai died a few days after the assault. Gandhiji showered unstinted praise on him, as he had done before on Tilak (pp. 78 & 282).

Though Gandhiji was mentally preparing himself for a struggle, which he regarded as inevitable, circumstances did not yet seem favourable to his assuming active leadership of the Congress. There were wide and fundamental differences between him and influential sections in the Congress which made him sometimes feel almost helpless. Writing to Motilal Nehru about the prevailing state of affairs, he said: "I must cut my way through these grievous difficulties with patient toil. After all Dr. Bidhan and Subhas represent a definite school of thought. . . .

There is utter confusion in my mind created by the kaleidoscopic scenes going on before one in the country. . . . But I know you are as much at home with such things as I am with the charkha" (p. 107).

The immediate occasion for this confession of helplessness was his persistent difference of view with the Reception Committee of the forthcoming Congress session at Calcutta regarding the nature of the Exhibition to be held at the time of the session. The Committee had planned to include in the Exhibition mill textiles and selected items of machinery, and it was even reported to be seeking the co-operation of local Governments for obtaining exhibits. This ran counter to the basic principles of non-co-operation and the constructive programme with khadi in the centre. Gandhiji disapproved of the plan but wrote to Dr. B. C. Roy, Chairman of the Reception Committee: ". . . I would not like you, an esteemed co-worker, to give up your views or principles in order to please me. . . . I assure you that I shall tender the same respect for your principles as I would crave from you and all for mine . . ." (pp. 7 & 9).

At the Calcutta Congress, Gandhiji tried to accommodate the point of view of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose and helped in evolving a compromise resolution adopting the Nehru Report "as a great step in political advance" (p. 268) and laying down a time-limit for its acceptance by the British Parliament. As a further concession to the dissident leaders, the time-limit was advanced from 31st December 1930 to 31st December 1929. Explaining his reasons for yielding, Gandhiji said: ". . . the national life is a perpetual struggle whilst it is growing. It is a struggle not only against the environments that seek to crush us but also a struggle between our own ranks. . . . If we want unity, then adjustment and readjustment, a series of compromises honourable to both parties and to variety of opinions, is to be effected" (pp. 284-5). Striking a personal note, he said: "There are in our midst today those who would stop at nothing, who in their impatience do not mind if they rush headlong even to perdition. . . . What am I to say to those flowers of the country who prize its liberty just as much as I do, if not perhaps much more?" (p. 286)

Though he believed that even two years was all too short a time for the preparation for a civil disobedience campaign, he said to himself: "What does it matter if all these impatient young men want me to share the discredit of showing nothing at the end of one year? I will share it" (p. 293). It was by this intensely personal and human approach that Gandhiji held together

leaders of the most diverse temperaments and widely differing points of view and welded them into a united team.

While he was prepared to co-operate on honourable terms with all the parties in the country, he was also not afraid of going to the Viceroy when he could do so consistently with the creed of non-co-operation. Both to the Indian parties and the British Government he made a similar approach and spoke in identical terms: "I non-co-operate with the evil, I do not non-co-operate with the good. I do not non-co-operate with persons, I non-co-operate with measures . . . If the Viceroy today asks me to go to him to discuss things of importance for the country on a footing of equality I will go there barefooted and still defend my non-co-operation." It was for the Congress to develop internal strength and to go to the House of Commons not as beggars but as "a high contracting party" (p. 289).

Having made himself a party to the Resolution of ultimatum to the British Government at the Calcutta Congress and drawn up a programme of active preparation for a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation, Gandhiji felt obliged to abandon his contemplated tour of Europe. Giving his apologies to European friends who had been looking forward to the visit, he worte: "...I feel that I would be guilty of desertion if I now went away to Europe" (p. 416). He had thought, he said, that he would be able to interpret true non-violence to the West by word of mouth. "But the more I ponder over the thing, the more unworthy I appear to myself to be. I need greater preparation and greater self-purification to make me a worthy vehicle" of the message (p. 417).

The message, it seemed, had not been fully delivered even in India, as was evidenced by occasional political murders and the widespread secret approbation given to them. Commenting on the assassination of Assistant Superintendent Mr. Saunders of Lahore, Gandhiji called for "a new valuation of such terms as heroism, patriotism, religiousness and the like" (p. 275). "The curse of assassination and kindred crimes", he told the youth of the country, "is not advancing the progress to humanity, religion or true civilization. . . . The temple of freedom requires the patient, intelligent and constructive effort of tens of thousands of men and women, young and old" and acts of violence "retard the progress of this quiet building" (p. 276).

Symptomatic of the new dynamism in the air, there was a prolonged strike in January 1929 by students of the Gujarat College in Ahmedabad in protest against the Principal's action in im-

posing a fine on all students who had absented themselves from college on the Simon Commission boycott day. Though in itself a purely local affair, the strike seemed to demonstrate the new temper of youth in the country. Gandhiji was quick to perceive the national significance of the strike and told the students: "I am not exaggerating when I say that you are inaugurating a new era" (p. 413).

The volume contains a long and anguished letter to Maulana Shaukat Ali which is of historic importance as practically registering a final break between the two leaders. Referring to a speech by the Maulana at Kanpur, Gandhiji asked him to apologize to the Hindus for having wounded their feelings through it and added: "I would go all the way with you in accusing the Hindu of his many misdeeds; but I am unable to hold with you that he has been ever the aggressor, ever the tyrant and his Mussalman brother always the injured victim. . . . In your Cawnpore speech you are too terribly dogmatic and emphatic. The assumption of infallibility is unworthy of you" (p. 130). He was not anxious to see their correspondence published. "But", he said, "if you think that there is nothing left for you but war to the knife, by all means publish the correspondence" (p. 131). As for himself, he claimed, "mine is a unilateral partnership and therefore my partnership with you and the other Mussalmans is indissoluble. Though they may disown me a million times, I shall still be theirs when occasion demands it" (p. 132). That the Maulana's public attack had not made the slightest difference to Gandhiji's attitude even temporarily is seen from his letter, a few days later, to Dr. B. S. Moonje, a Hindu nationalist leader: "If you will take the analogy of Afghanistan, why do you expect Mussalmans to be Hindus in Hindustan? . . . For the service of India, Mussalmans, Jews, Christians should be Indians even as Hindus should be Indians" (pp. 231-2). The same comprehensive nationalism is taught in the message to Christian Indians (p. 323).

The affairs of the Ashram seem to have exercised Gandhiji's mind a good deal at this time. Having "for the sake of humility and truth" (p. 24) changed its name from Satyagraha Ashram to Udyoga Mandir and thus given rise to some speculation that the ideals of truth and *brahmacharya* were being abandoned, Gandhiji had to explain the correct position: "The name Satyagraha Ashram was adopted deliberately and with the intention of giving the fullest effect to its meaning. But the progressive realization of the meaning of the name made us conscious of our unworthiness to bear it" (p. 33). His earnest appeal to the Ashram women was:

"Always appear what you really are; whatever you do, do it openly" (p. 195). The kitchen was a school where "the food should be scientifically stored, cooked and eaten" so that the body as the "temple of God" could be "kept clean and preserved through nourishment" (pp. 236-7). Through an ever-increasing effort for self-purification, he assured the inmates of the Wardha Ashram, "you will be serving yourselves, your country and the world" (p. 128).

The numerous letters to Chhaganlal Joshi, who had been appointed Secretary of the Ashram, illustrate Gandhiji's handling of delicate human problems which arose in the Ashram from time to time, even as they show him at work training a co-worker. One such problem concerned the widow and daughters of the late Maganlal Gandhi. Gandhiji had to relax some of the rules of the Ashram for their sake much against his will (p. 82). The occasional failings of the Ashram inmates sometimes filled Gandhiji with self-doubt. "Do you not agree", he wrote to Chhaganlal Joshi, "that my boasted skill in understanding people is nothing of the kind? . . . These clouds trouble me; still bigger ones will come" (pp. 242-3). But in all difficulties aid came from an unfailing source. "The more attentively you listen to the *antaratman*, the purer will your decisions be, you will become purer, more fearless and calmer, and your health too will improve" (p. 198).

A stern taskmaster, Gandhiji did not hesitate to point out to Mahadev Desai his lapses (pp. 158 & 188-9). He helped many strangers to solve their casuistical problems (pp. 183, 377 & 393). He even drafted for Prabhavati Narayan a letter to be sent to her father-in-law (p. 208). Even while offering guidance Gandhiji issued a warning against blind faith and stressed the need for mutual communication. "You may have faith in the principles which I lay down, but the conclusions which I draw from certain facts cannot be a matter of faith. Faith has no place in a matter which can be grasped by reason. Hence, whenever you see my ignorance as regards facts and find the reasoning vitiated by that ignorance, please do correct me" (p. 217).

Explaining to a friend his horror of what he saw at Kalighat, Gandhiji said: "My soul rises in rebellion against the cold-blooded inhumanity that goes on there in the name of religion." But he did not possess the strength to offer his own life to save the lives of innocent animals. "And till I can do that", he said, "I must bear the cross of my imperfect existence" (p. 244). The same horror and the same helplessness are expressed in the account of an earlier visit to Calcutta (*An Autobiography*, Pt. III, Ch. 18).

Commenting on thin attendance at the Ashram prayers he wrote: "As the body needs food and feels hungry, so the soul needs and feels hungry for prayer. Prayer is a form of communication with God" (p. 197). In the "Eternal Duel" Gandhiji replied to a correspondent's question how to overcome cowardice, eradicate bad habits and "recreate" oneself. Once we have made our choice to ally ourselves with the forces of good against the forces of evil, the most potent means of progress was prayer, "that sacred alliance between God and man whereby he attains his deliverance from the clutches of the prince of darkness" (p. 247). It is only with the help of Rama that we can "overcome the ten-headed Ravana of passions within us" (p. 251). To secure and use this help, Gandhiji showed the way in his advice to the Ashram inmates at Wardha: "If you awake every morning with His name on your lips and invoke His aid to help you in your struggles during the day and at night time before retiring take stock of the day's failures and lapses, make a confession of them to your Maker and do a sincere penance for them—the only fitting penance for a lapse is to make a firm resolve not to allow it to happen again—you will thereby build, as it were, a solid wall of protection round you and gradually temptations will cease to assail you" (p. 255).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the revised edition (1969). References to *An Autobiography* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CONTENTS

1. CONDOLENCES

I tender my respectful condolences to Mrs. S. R. Das and her family on Sjt. S. R. Das's[1] death. Though I had little in common with the deceased in politics, I could not but recognize his phenomenal generosity and his open-heartedness. Many do not know how this great man beggared himself so that no worthy cause might knock in vain at his door.

Young India, 1-11-1928

2. NOTES

'FREEDOM TO THE FREE'[2]

Whilst we are cutting one another's throats in the name of religion and some of us running to the Statutory Commission[3] in the vain hope of getting freedom, a friend sends me the following from James Allen to remind us that even in the land of so-called freedom, the real freedom has still to come. Here is the passage:

> All outward oppression is but the shadow and effect of the real oppression within. For ages the oppressed have cried for liberty, and a thousand man-made statutes have failed to give it to them. They can give it only to themselves; they shall find it only in obedience to the Divine Statutes which are inscribed upon their hearts. Let them resort to the inward freedom, and the shadow of oppression shall no more darken the earth. Let men cease to oppress themselves, and no man shall oppress his brother. Men legislate for an outward freedom, yet continue to render such freedom impossible of achievement by fostering an inward condition of enslavement. They thus pursue a shadow without, and ignore the substance within. All outward forms of bondage and oppression will cease to be when man ceases to be the willing bond-slave of passion, error, and ignorance.

The outward freedom therefore that we shall attain will only be in exact proportion to the inward freedom to which we may have grown at a given moment. And if this is the correct view of free-

[1] Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

[2] *Vide* also "True Independence", pp. 17-8 *infra*.

[3] Simon Commission

dom, our chief energy must be concentrated upon achieving reform from within. In this much-needed work all who will can take an equal share. We need neither to be lawyers, nor legislators to be able to take part in the great effort. When this reform takes place on a national scale no outside power can stop our onward march.

Young India, 1-11-1928

3. *IN TEN YEARS?*

Professor C. N. Vakil's instructive articles published[1] in these pages are supplementary to the series he recently wrote on poverty[2] and should be read together. I coaxed him to give the reader something more definite on remedies of poverty than what he had done in the article which I ventured to withhold and which he expanded into the four articles above referred to. I do not think that the programme sketched by the learned Professor can be finished in ten years. Perhaps it is impossible to devise a ten years' programme of improvement to cover a vast and impoverished country like ours.

Let us however glance at Professor Vakil's remedies for India's central disease. He rightly says that the problem is how to increase production of wealth and how to distribute it equitably among the people, principally therefore, I presume, among the starving millions. To this end the learned writer

1. would recast small uneconomic holdings,
2. would pay off the debts of the ryot through mortgage and co-operative banks,
3. would revise the revenue law and graduate the land tax so as to bring it in a line with the income tax leaving a minimum of income from land free of tax,
4. would re-employ the population displaced through the recasting of uneconomic holdings by bringing under the plough cultivable waste, i.e., 23 per cent of the total area available and by nationalizing and thus developing large industries,
5. would draw small and large capital by putting the banking system on a basis more in keeping with the requirements of the country than it is now,

[1] On September 27, October 4, 11 and 18

[2] In *Young India*, July 12, 19, 26, August 2 and 9; *vide* also Vol. XXXVII, pp. 44-5 and 235-6.

6. would improve labour conditions so as to avoid war between capital and labour,

7. would deal with such social abuses as child-marriages, etc., which give rise to over-population and unfit progeny,

8. would radically reform the educational system so as to spread education among the masses and have it answer the needs of the people,

9. and would cut down the military expenditure and stop the drain from the country by manning the services with indigenous talent.

This is not an unattractive programme. But as I was re-reading the articles, the question continued to force itself upon me, "Who will bell the cat?" There is hardly an item here which can be tackled without government aid. And a government that is admittedly based on exploitation of the governed will not and cannot, even if it will, undertake the proposed changes with the despatch necessary to create an immediate impression. It can undertake irrigation schemes costing crores, it will not undertake sinking wells costing lakhs. What therefore Professor Vakil wants first is a summary programme of swaraj and having been chiefly instrumental in getting it, he can command the appointment of commissioner of banishment of poverty department.

This however is a heroic remedy and Pandit Motilal Nehru and the co-signatories to his report are the men to tackle it. Our author's [task] was but to place a scheme before any government that would deal with the most pressing problem before the country.

But I had hoped that the learned Professor, especially when he wrote for *Young India*, would have examined the one sovereign remedy that has in season and out of season been advocated through these pages and has, so far as it has gone, been tried with no inconsiderable success. True, the Professor has hidden the tiny wheel in a little unseen arc of his circle of suggestions. I claim for it not a point in a circumference but the centre from which can radiate innumerable other things including many the learned writer has in view. But the fact is, whereas it was possible for him with patient research carried on in a well-stocked library to write convincing essays to prove India's deep and deepening poverty, it was impossible without a close study of a group of villages with an open and receptive mind to spot the seat of the disease and to know the capacity of the patient to bear the remedy. A Gregg[1] took a year of reading and living among the

[1] Richard B. Gregg

villagers to know the remedy and prove its worth with a freshness of outlook all his own. The cardinal facts to realize are that there is already terrible, forced unemployment among the toiling millions in that they have no work for at least four months in the year. Once that is realized, surely it follows that not a moment should be lost in bringing work to these millions so as to utilize their idle hours. The other fact to realize is that if the average income of the inhabitant of this land is seven pice per day, i.e., less than two English pennies per day, at the present rate of exchange, the average income of the toiling millions must *ipso facto* be much less. He who adds two pice per day to their income and that without any great capital outlay makes a princely addition to their income and in addition revives the dying hope within the breasts of these millions. The further merit of this programme is that it is now in operation without government aid. But it needs much greater encouragement and admits of infinite expansion. Pyarelal has shown[1] elsewhere in this issue of *Young India* what America wrought through the wheel during those times of her Revolution. I invite the economists of India to study the movement on the spot. They have nearly two thousand villages to select from for their study and let them then condemn the movement if they can, or give it not a niggardly place that prudence or patronage can grudgingly afford but the central place it deserves.

Young India, 1-11-1928

4. TELEGRAM TO LAJPAT RAI

November 1, 1928

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS. WIRE DETAILS ASSAULT AND CONDITION OF HEALTH.[2]

The Tribune, 3-11-1928

[1] In "A Leaf from American History"

[2] For the addressee's reply, *vide* "The Inevitable", 8-11-1928.

5. *INTERVIEW TO "THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE"*[1]

November 1, 1928

I could still lead India. I shall only lead India when the nation comes to me to be led, when there is a national call.

I shall not go before then. I shall not go unless I am certain of my power over the masses. I could [not] lead India again [until I] realized that they are numerous enough to pursue a policy of non-violence, nor until I could control them. But I see nothing on the horizon at the moment. That would not make me at all anxious to take that position. Perhaps it will not be in my lifetime. It may be in the time of my successor.

I cannot name one at this moment. There must be one who could lead India today but I cannot name him. Truly I should be ashamed to remain inactive but it may be necessary in my lifetime. It may be there will come a man, but not now.

The Hindustan Times, 3-11-1928

6. *TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN*

SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

MIRABEHN
CARE KHADI BHANDAR, MUZAFFARPUR

YOU MAY PASS REMAINING TIME BIHAR BENGAL. MUST KEEP PERFECT HEALTH. NO NEED RUSHING.

BAPU

From the original: G.N. 8211; also C.W. 5321. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Released by the Free Press of India from Lahore. In a message from Ahmedabad dated November 6, 1928, Associated Press of India said: "Mahatma Gandhi states that the interviews with him which recently appeared in the *Pioneer* and *The Civil and Military Gazette* are inaccurate in many respects. He says that he proposes to deal with the matter in *Young India*." *Vide* "Fact and Fiction", 8-11-1928.

7. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I shall read the report as soon as I get a moment.

If you are yourself an expert typist, you may certainly bring the typewriter with you. You will give me the exact date when I may expect you and give me also the terms you want. I have forgotten all about them.

Mahadev is not here but in Bombay in connection with the Bardoli Inquiry[1].

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. R. MALKANI
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 889

8. LETTER TO G. S. SHARMA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You must not ride the karma theory to death. Every creature is not only weaving his own new karma, but is acted upon by millions of karmas of others.

I regard the destruction of the body of the calf[2] as unselfish, because I was not afraid of rendering service. Only, I saw that I could render no service.

About the mosquitoes. There is no harm in using a mosquito-net of foreign make. Mosquito-net is not a piece of clothing. I

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 82-5.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 310-5.

treat it in the same way I treat an umbrella. Of course it is possible to get khadi mosquito-nets, but they are dear.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. S. SHARMA
LECTURER IN ACCOUNTING, SANATAN DHARMA COLLEGE
NAWABGANJ, CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14547

9. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter. I had a chat about the Exhibition with Pandit Motilalji when he was here last Sunday. He showed me too your telegram. I shall repeat what I told him in the course of my conversation. I am sorry that you find my letter to be "vague and guarded". I tried to be as clear as I could with the facts before me. Guarded I should never have to be in writing to friends like you. But my letter was certainly concise and necessarily so.

Now for the purport of the conversation. Whilst your offer to Panditji and repeated in your letter flatters my pride, I would not like you, an esteemed co-worker, to give up your views or principles in order to please me. Such things can only be done once in a lifetime, and even when such personal concessions are accepted, they harm the acceptor, harm the giver and damage the national cause in question. And let me put you absolutely at ease by telling you that I have before Panditji undertaken, all being well, to attend the Congress unconditionally.

I am sorry I cannot say so with reference to the representation of the All-India Spinners' Association at the Exhibition. My argument is this: whilst it is wrong to think that I dislike all machinery as such, I do feel that we are not competent judges of the usefulness or otherwise of machinery however small it may be for the toiling millions. We shall acquire that faculty for judgment when we draw to the Congress stout-hearted and knowing farmers and other business men. Let me tell you that in the Ashram we have a variety of simple machinery in the way of

[1] For addressee's letter, *vide* Appendix I.

ploughs, grass-cutting machines, grinding-mills, etc. But I am sorry to have to inform you that not much of our investment in this line has proved profitable or promising. This has happened because we are all amateur farmers. And this is a judgment which I give you after an experience extending over a period of 13 years. Therefore I would say, if you have got the courage, you will scrap every bit of machinery for the time being, especially foreign, and you will concentrate your energy upon having your Exhibition with khaddar as the centre-piece and a small but a sufficient number of genuine swadeshi articles of a useful nature.

I have an irreconcilable opposition to the Indian textiles being exhibited in any shape or form. My reason is absolutely simple. The textile manufacturers refuse to come to terms with us. I do not blame them because if they come to terms with us, they have to sacrifice all prospects of Government assistance save what is forced from it by an active public opinion. Moreover these textiles need no advertisement from us. They have got an army of advertisers, inspectors, selling agents and what not. And, lastly, to put mill textiles side by side with khadi is deliberately to put khadi in the shade by inviting undesirable comparisons.

I remind you that the very first exhibition of this type was undertaken at the Ahmedabad Congress in 1921.[1] It drew huge audiences. The entrance fee, a paltry sum, left a good surplus. Wherever there is good and efficient management of exhibitions of an educative character, they are not only useful and instructive but they are remunerative. Such was the case in Bihar. One indispensable condition of Congress Exhibitions should be that we should never undertake them for finding our expenses and leaving besides a handsome sum for conducting the business of the year to come. Unfortunately this very undesirable thing was done in Madras exposing us to an evil temptation. I wish that Bengal which has abundant patriotism, self-sacrifice and fine sentiment will rise superior to such temptations.

If this letter seems to you to be lacking in detail, do write to me again. Let there be no mistake about it. I want to take part in the Exhibition. But I can only take part in it consistently with the national interest as I understand it. But I have said to myself that if I cannot take part in the Exhibition, I am not going to say one word of criticism either during the Exhibition or after. I did not feel called upon to impose any such silence on myself in Madras, because the circumstances were different and so I ex-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 132-3.

pressed my views freely at the time of opening the Exhibition[1] and still more freely in a leading article[2] in *Young India* after opening it.

I have a string of letters asking me to give my views freely and now about the forthcoming Exhibition. I have hitherto resisted all these correspondents as I hope to the end. I therefore plead with you not to be deterred from your purpose which you may hold to be based on an inviolable principle in the interest of the nation. I assure you that I shall tender the same respect for your principles as I would crave from you and all for mine, however erring they may appear to others.

With reference to the Hospital[3], I am glad it is flourishing. I shall certainly perform the opening ceremony of the new ward, and so far as possible make time for it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
32 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 14853

10. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

You are now in the thick of the fight, but at the time you receive this letter, the fight will have been over. I am hoping and praying that you will come out just as successful in Delhi as you did in Lucknow[4].

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter[5] to Dr. Bidhan Roy about the Exhibition difficulty. I do not need to send you a copy of his letter, because what he writes was contained in the telegram that you read to me. My reply needs no explanation.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 416-7.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXV, pp. 435-41.
[3] Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das Memorial Hospital
[4] At the All-Parties Conference held on August 28, 1928
[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

How is Kamala faring now? You will keep yourself fit for the culmination in December.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PANDIT MOTILALJI
CARE DR. ANSARI, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13716

11. LETTER TO SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I knew Sjt. Sastri's suggestion.[1] I do think that the South African journalists' coming to India is likely to result in a better understanding.

Yours sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH SAHEB BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.
MEMBER, VICEROY'S COUNCIL, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11997

12. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

I have your letter. I sent Dhiren, before I received your letter, my message to him through you.

Here is a letter received by me from Devdhar. I hope you have already met him.

Mahadev is still in Bardoli looking after Bardoli Inquiry affairs.

I hope the climate of Poona is agreeable to you.

Yours sincerely,

SRIMATI URMILA DEVI
JANHAVI VILLA, DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA

From a photostat: S.N. 12978

[1] Of inviting a group of journalists from South Africa

13. LETTER TO V. K. U. MENON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you are helping Krishnaswami. I know Kurur Nilakantan Nambudripad. He is a good man. But I have no knowledge of his business ability, nor am I able to judge the selection of a place. Generally speaking, work like that done in Bardoli can be best done in British India proper. But I would ask you to correspond with Sjt. Rajagopalachariar, Tiruchengodu, South India, and be guided by him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. K. U. MENON
10 SATTAR BUILDINGS, MAHIM, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12979

14. LETTER TO POST MASTER, SABARMATI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

THE POST MASTER
SABARMATI
DEAR SIR,

With reference to your inquiry I may state that the letter referred to in your enquiry was duly delivered at the Ashram and was received by Sjt. C. N. Joshi who is authorized to receive all documents registered or otherwise on my behalf. You may inform the writer of the letter that it does not follow that because letters addressed to me are received at the Ashram they are necessarily all read by me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12980

15. LETTER TO BALAJI RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

MY DEAR BALAJEE RAO,

I have your letter enclosing extracts from the *Indian Textile Journal.* I have read Sjt. Talcharkar's work very carefully. Not being convinced of his argument, I entered into correspondence with him. He is still unable to convince me that charkha yarn is on the whole stronger than mill yarn. In the Ashram we made series of experiments and they went to show that in order to produce hand-spun yarn superior to the mill-spun, we have to take extraordinary precaution which an ordinary spinner has no facility of taking. Sjt. Talcharkar's is a theoretical proposition, appearing sound to read but failing in practice. You can well understand how anxious I should be to know and prove that the average charkha yarn is stronger than the average mill-spun yarn.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13715

16. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

I have your letter[1]. I have read it carefully. I shall want much stronger proof than you give me to sustain your indictment of Dr. Ansari and Motilalji. You may not see eye to eye with them, but we may not impute motives to those who differ from us. But I shan't argue with you. I know some day you will see the light or if I am under a delusion I shall have my ignorance dis-

[1] Dated October 23, 1928; for excerpts, *vide* Appendix II.

pelled, because I have no other end to serve but that of truth, nor, if I know you well, have you any other end.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE
SULTAN MANSION, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13711

17. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

A[so] Va[d] 6 [November 3, 1928][1]

BHAI VALJI,

I can trust you always to find some cow-protection work to keep you busy. Get all the information from Bhai Nagindas. I am sure that the accounts will have to be kept by you. For the present, you will have to do all the work, the sweeper's as well as secretary's. If the work increases, we shall incur further expenditure. Enrol more members, if you can. I take it that you will hunt up literature on the origin of the cow-protection movement and try to write on the subject. Correspond with *shastris* and with Anandshankerbhai in regard to this. I think there are some books on the subject in the Ashram; go through them.

Collect literature on the trade in hides and skins. I should like you to become a dairy expert[2] (give me the Gujarati equivalent of this—*dudh shastri*[3]?) and an expert on hides. Acquaint yourself with what is being done in the Ashram in these fields. Study the goshala here.

What more can I say? Do everything as if the entire responsibility is yours. I said at the very beginning that my taking up cow-protection work meant that I would find out a good secretary, explain my principles to him, make him work in accordance with them and let him use my name. May I expect you to be such a secretary?

Are you living in peace now? Take care of your health.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[1] The year is inferred from the reference to cow-protection movement.
[2] Gandhiji uses the English expression.
[3] *Dudh*: milk, *shastri*: expert

PS.

I send with this Gregg's letter and the list of books accompanying it. Read whichever of them you can get. If we have to secure any of them from outside, we shall try and get them from some source. In any case, file both the letter and the list.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7397. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

18. HOW WE LOST INDIA

Just a few days before Deshbandhu's death, while replying to an address of welcome given by the business community of Jalpaiguri, I had said that we had lost India through our merchants and we should regain it also through them. This is not the task of a lawyer, a doctor or a soldier. Many Englishmen proudly say that they took India with the help of the sword and are holding it with the strength of the sword, but there is less than fifty per cent of truth in this statement. If the merchants so desire, they can blunt the edge of that sword. If illustrations of the truth of this statement were wanted, a striking one is furnished by the following circular letter from one mercantile association to another:[1]

It is characteristic of the British people that they give up their hold on the country from which they can obtain no wealth. They did so in the case of the Transvaal in the year 1884, and when they saw wealth there they launched a war in 1900 in order to gain possession of it. They gave up Somaliland when they could not make money there. They do not want a country for the sake of possessing it but for the sake of carrying on trade with it. That is why Napoleon criticized them and called them "a nation of shopkeepers".

British rule, therefore, does not subsist on might, but it would be more correct to say that it functions with the help of our merchants. If our merchants give up the temptation to trade with Britain in cloth, or if the people give up wearing foreign cloth, the British would have no reason to hold on to India.

But is the spirit of sacrifice present in the merchant community? It is found that a man makes many sacrifices, but is seldom prepared to sacrifice that from which he earns money. Merchants are well known for their generosity. But when they

[1] For the circular letter and the two paragraphs succeeding it, *vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 395-6.

are asked to give up their business, they feel aggrieved. Lawyers will be ready to donate thousands of rupees, but there would be few men like Das, who would be ready to give up their legal practice. Doctors will donate large sums but only a few would be prepared to give up their profession.

Despite this, if we want real independence, merchants would have to give up their business and be prepared to serve the country. Such sacrifice will be regarded as their *prayaschitta*[1]. If it is true, and indeed it is, that we lost India because of their greed, then we will get back India only through their sacrifice.

But the sacrifice that I expect from merchants is in fact very small. All I ask for is a change in their business, and not its ruin. I ask for their trade to be carried on within limits. In spite of the boycott of foreign cloth, the business in khadi amounting to crores of rupees would be carried on by business men alone. Without these latter, people would be unable to carry on transactions. The term business implies transactions. Anyone who is good at social intercourse, is a good business man. A merchant is one who enables people to establish contacts with one another.

Today, the ability of the business man is being misused. He earns five per cent while giving away ninety-five to the foreigners. I ask him to put his abilities to good use. He should give ninety-five to the people and keep five for himself. By doing so, he will get his share of five per cent and his earnings will be regarded as pure. The crores that he makes today is tainted money. It is possible that under the new order the crores that fall to the share of a few today may be distributed amongst hundreds of business men. However this should not be regarded as a matter of regret. Everyone will agree that it would be a better scheme if many have a lakh or a thousand instead of a few having crores. And it is my firm opinion that if business men do not understand these simple and commonplace calculations it would be almost impossible to prevent anarchy, plunder and revolution in India. The poisonous wind of anarchy blowing from the West cannot be kept out by any other means.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-11-1928

[1] Atonement

19. *THE ASSAULT ON LALAJI*

This country is poor, there is trouble within it and repression from without, there seems to be deep darkness all round and yet it appears to be fortunate. The symbol of this good fortune is the assault on Lalaji by the police in Lahore. Lalaji was not at fault. The procession which he was leading also was not at fault. Lalaji had full control over the procession, hence the fault or whatever it was of the procession or of Lalaji consisted in the decision they had made. That decision was to offer peaceful opposition to the Simon Commission when it arrived. In order to demonstrate this opposition, the procession was going up to the barrier set up by the police. It had reached the barrier and was uttering deafening cries of "Simon, go back". Besides Lalaji, this procession included other leaders such as Lala Hansraj, Dr. Alam and others.

As this demonstration and the people's determination irritated the police, they decided to teach Lalaji a lesson and assaulted him. The police deserved no credit that the assault did not assume grave proportions. How easy was it for the injury to be inflicted on the eye instead of near it? To fate alone, and not the police, can be given the credit for the injury to the chest being of a relatively light nature instead of a serious one! According to newspaper reports, the police spared no pains to demonstrate their skill in wielding the lathi.

Lalaji has emphatically stated that the statement made by the police in their own defence is absolutely untrue. The police claim that the procession rushed into the small space that had been left vacant for a passage and that it resorted to stone-throwing. Lalaji denies both these charges and affirms that the police may file a libel suit against him if they wish to do so. He is prepared to prove his own case.

Let us now see if the police are prepared to take up this challenge.

The attention of the public and that of the world is attracted only when warrior leaders such as Lalaji are injured; the assault on Lalaji has drawn and will yet draw a great deal more attention than would have been drawn by the death of an unimportant individual.

We shall have to be careful and see to it that the people by resorting to violence do not lose the game in which victory is within their grasp. If the atrocities of the Government continue despite

the innocence of the people, the ship of the Government will sink of its own accord. Hence I hope that the people will not transgress the limits at any place and fully respect all the appeals for maintaining peace that are made by the leaders.

I congratulate Lalaji. He has been well known for many years as the "Lion of the Punjab". The Government's police have themselves helped on this occasion to add to his prestige and the above assault is an addition to the many services he has rendered to the country.

The following telegram[1] has been received from Lalaji after the above article was written:

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-11-1928

20. MY NOTES

True Independence

At a time when we are cutting one another's throats in the name of religion and are competing with one another in running to the Simon Commission, and so on, in the hope of securing independence, it is worth noting what the British writer James Allen says about independence in England. A friend has sent an extract from his article the sum and substance of which is as follows:

> As a matter of fact, all acts of repression from without are nothing but a reflection of the atrocities that are perpetrated within. Although for thousands of years men have been craving for freedom, the thousands of laws made by him have been unable to win it for him. The truth of the matter is that freedom alone can bestow freedom. That freedom consists in following the immutable laws framed by God which have been inscribed on our hearts. No one can harm him who has attained the freedom of his soul. If people cease to be cruel to themselves, they will be unable to be cruel towards others. People frame laws for their external freedom, whereas they worship slavery in their hearts. Thus, they run after an external shadow and ignore the real thing within their souls. Man's bondage in all forms and all his atrocities will be automatically eradicated when he frees himself from slavery to his passions, his ignorance and his shortcomings.

[1] Not translated here. *Vide* "The Inevitable", 8-11-1928.

This implies that external freedom will always be the means of measuring the freedom of the self within. Hence we often find that laws made to grant us freedom often turn out to be shackles binding us. Hence the dharma of those workers who wish to attain true freedom is to try and attempt an improvement in the self. If we understand this simple and straightforward fact, we shall not even utter the word 'legislature' but engage ourselves in constructive activity day and night. All can take part in such activity. It is not necessary to become either a lawyer or a legislator in order to do so. What strange blindness it is that those who are elected as legislators to represent the people should seem, and in fact are, their rulers! If we are not under an illusion, we would have no fear of the Government or the legislatures, law-courts or the armies which subsist on it. And no power can come in the way of our upliftment and our independence when we have reformed ourselves in the above manner.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-11-1928

21. *BUFFALOES FOR SLAUGHTER*

Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai, Vice-president of the Sarvajanik Jivadaya Khatun, Ghatkopar, writes as follows:[1]

I have gone through the letters which have been mentioned in the above letter. The reader will feel, as I do, that the municipality is slaughtering buffaloes for the sake of slaughter. The killing of buffaloes whose meat is not eaten by anyone is merely a chaotic state of affairs and it is a matter for surprise that citizens of Bombay tolerate it. This is not a problem which concerns the Hindus alone, but one which concerns all citizens — Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Jews alike. Moreover, it is not one which involves the Department of Animal Welfare alone, but one which involves public welfare and the health of children. On the one hand, the country is becoming increasingly poorer; on the other hand it is being robbed of its cattle-wealth because of the indifference of citizens as for example in Bombay. To slaughter milk-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The gist of the correspondent who enclosed other letters was that about 20,000 buffaloes were slaughtered annually in Bombay and Kurla, though this quantity of meat was not required. The Bombay Municipality issued licences to slaughter animals every day and made a yearly profit of Rs. 3 lakhs. The supply of condensed milk from Holland aggravated this problem.

yielding cows and buffaloes or to allow their calves to die of hunger and thirst is nothing but robbery and the cause of this robbery is the insignificant income that the municipality derives from it! According to the calculation made by Shri Nagindas, a minimum loss of rupees two crores and twenty lakhs is suffered because of this thoughtless slaughter. And finally, in a country which would have the facility to provide milk in the same way as it provides water, we have to drink imported milk which contains no food value. It is a matter of no small shame for us to have to consume imported milk and to have vegetable oil sold as ghee, because of shortage of fresh milk. In Bombay and other cities, there is a lot of useless clamour, but apart from societies for animal welfare, no one else thinks of raising a protest and launching an effective movement in such an extremely important matter.

As has been suggested in the above letter, the cure for this malady is simple and straightforward. Not a single cow or buffalo will be taken to the slaughter-house if the pens are removed from the city and if the municipality undertakes to supply milk specially to Bombay, whatever the expense it might have to incur in doing so. Is it not a matter for surprise that the farmers of Bardoli welcome the buffaloes which are regarded as useless in Bombay and hope to make a profit out of them? What is possible in Bardoli should not be impossible in Bombay.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-11-1928

22. *THE ALCHEMY OF THOUGHT*

The well-known writer, Professor Jacks, has written a book whose title may be interpreted as Alchemy of Thought. Pyarelal has written an article based on this book in the current issue of *Young India* which deserves to be pondered over. Hence this article, which itself is based on the one just mentioned, has been published for the convenience of Gujarati readers.

The alchemy of thought implies that the latter acts as an alchemist. No one can tell whether any alchemist has been able to transmute iron into gold, but thought continuously performs this function. By entertaining a particular thought, man becomes the victim of fear and turns pale; by entertaining its opposite thought, his countenance becomes flushed with pleasure. I shall feel sad if I think, 'I am having a spasm of pain, all will be over with me

now.' However, if I ignore the spasm and say to myself, 'What is there in a spasm after all, it will pass away presently', I shall continue to be cheerful. Perhaps a stranger from abroad comes to my house and I suspect him. I assume that he is a murderer and am terribly scared. My son comes and tells me: 'This gentleman is an old family friend, we do not know him as he has been living abroad since his childhood. He is a guest in our house today and has come here to convey some good news.' On hearing this, I regain my composure. Now I embrace with respect one whom I had feared before. All this is the alchemy of thought. Within a fraction of a second, thought can make a king or pauper of us. Such is the empire of thought. Thought is infinitely more powerful than either speech or the bodily processes. Physical activity is the coarsest form that thought assumes, while speech is one of its coarser forms. Both these activities limit thought. It is indeed proper that it should be so. If this were not the case, the world would surely be destroyed. However, this is to prove the power of thought. Hence it may be said that, when devoid of thought, speech or action is something mechanical and it has no value.

Following this line of argument, Professor Jacks goes on to say that a great and all-pervading element like religion is not a game whose rules are laid down in books, it is not a treasure-chest which contains affirmations and negations, it is not a collection of prohibitions. Anyone who wishes to do his dharma, to practise non-violence and to follow the dictates of morality has to walk on the razor's edge. For him there are no lectures on non-violence nor any dictionary of spellings which would enable him to obtain a hundred per cent marks in the test on non-violence. Observing one's dharma is not such a safe thing. It is a gem that lies buried in the mine of experience. Only a few among millions of seekers succeed in digging it out. Mr. Jacks says that dharma is not for those who ask for a guarantee of safety. The field of religion lies between doubt and certainty. One who believes or asserts that this indeed is religion or that this alone is religion does not know what religion is. One who wants to know the meaning of dharma, while admitting that a particular action may or may not be according to dharma surrenders to his inner voice and continues to conduct himself with determination and calmness. Not being omniscient himself, on the one hand he is determined and, on the other hand, he humbly allows for the possibility that he may be making a mistake.

This learned gentleman goes on to say:

> Just as we can repeatedly affirm in arithmetic that two and two make four, similarly, in the science of morality, we cannot affirm with conviction that this alone is our duty. The deeper meaning behind dharma or non-violence does not lie in results which can be proved; their mystery is revealed in going beyond such proofs and by taking certain risks where such proofs are impossible.

In our language this is known as faith. Dharma is something that is based on faith. Faith constitutes proof for that which cannot be proved by the five senses. Hence it is only by respectfully honouring the dictates of our inner voice that we may hope to have direct perception of dharma at some time in the future. Hence Mr. Jacks says:

> A man who becomes ready to listen to his own inner voice only after subjecting it to a test may be said to have abandoned it and he has failed to recognize the spiritual powers that are within him. Finally, he reaches a state which is so devoid of morality that it may be said of him that he has no such thing as an inner voice.

Therefore, what should man do when he comes across misery or oppression? The author says:

> For me there are only two alternatives, either to experiment or to do nothing. Hence it becomes my dharma to carry out experiments after studying the situation as much as possible. However, there is the danger that I may have made an error in my calculations. Even if on the day of judgment, I am told that my experiments are wrong, I shall lay down my life in order to complete them. I shall face the risk of there being a possibility of error in certain experiments in order to prove the truth of that which appears to be true to me.

This writer is of the opinion—and we too find—that many truths have been discovered through experiments in which such risks of mistakes were incurred, for such errors arise from pure motives and devotion to truth and mistakes that have been unintentionally made are forgotten in course of time.

Man has been called a creature full of errors. One of the definitions of swaraj is that it is the right to make mistakes and it is true. So long as I do not see my mistakes I must practise the dharma which I consider to be true; if giving in to external pressure I fail to do so, my cowardice and the false image I create will destroy me.

Further, Mr. Jacks suggests that a society in which external rules of morality are alone regarded as binding may well appear to be well-organized in a certain way, the people may be outwardly happy and peaceful, but that society is devoid of courage, of the boldness to make experiments, and of the spirit of research and hence the path of its progress is blocked. The importance of great principles lies in the fact that their meaning is unlimited. Only if we keep digging in that boundless mine can the world be lit up by those principles and also make progress. However, our society at present appears to be bound in shackles. It seems that our dharma is limited to singing praises of our forefathers and observing some outworn, external rituals.

But dharma is not such a lifeless thing. Non-violence is a living force or power. No one has been or will ever be able to measure its limits or its extent. Non-violence means universal love, it implies compassion for all living beings and the resultant strength to sacrifice oneself. Since many mistakes may be made while this love expresses itself we cannot give up the quest for the whole of this dharma. Even the mistakes committed while seeking the pure path take us a step forward in the quest.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-11-1928

23. *SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM*

The draft rules[1] of the Ashram were published some time back in *Navajivan*. I had invited outside opinion on these; a big controversy had also begun in the Ashram itself. Suggestions were made to introduce vital changes in it. Some of these were even implemented. Despite this a shocking, fictitious report appeared in the newspaper before the time came for publishing these rules. So I must put before the readers the changes[2] which are being tried at present.

As the name of the Satyagraha Ashram is suggestive of its qualities, it has always been our endeavour to stick to truth and to rely on its support alone. It cannot be said that we have always succeeded in our efforts. It cannot be claimed that all the inmates of the Ashram have worshipped truth. It can definitely be said that on the whole truth has been adhered to. Even in diffi-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-410.

[2] *Vide* also "Handicap of Mahatmaship", 8-11-1928.

cult situations, many in the Ashram, the young as well as the old, have adhered to it.

Ashramites have found one handicap in insisting upon truth. Many difficulties were experienced in minutely observing the rules with a strictness that would do credit to the Satyagraha Ashram. We did not find ourselves capable of coping with the subtler meanings of the rules, a fact which we gradually realize. Hence we arrived at the decision to keep those very rules intact but to change the name. We could hardly find anyone with the mental attitude in which one does not even feel the desire for possessions, in order to do credit to the Satyagraha Ashram. In observing truth in a manner that would do credit to the Ashram, one should never exaggerate even in a state of swoon. In spite of holding this belief we found it difficult to be always free from this fault. Though we realized that for the observance of *brahmacharya*, one should be free even from the thought of lust, we found that our control over our minds was very ineffective. In order to practise ahimsa which would do credit to the Ashram, we should have no anger in us, we should harbour no jealousy of one another. We should have the strength to affectionately embrace a thief if he happens to come along. Let snakes, etc., kill us, but we must have the strength to refrain from killing them. We found ourselves far removed from such ahimsa. Thinking on such lines we decided to maintain the Ashram as an ideal and run all its external activities under another name. Industry and physical work have always been the outward manifestations of the Satyagraha Ashram and we can claim that they have brought considerable credit to it. We, therefore, assumed the name of Udyoga Mandir. Satyagraha Ashram would entrust its work to this Mandir and keep for itself a small ground for prayers which are necessary for its existence.

These changes are being implemented since a month or so ago. The managing committee of the Mandir has the right to make whatever changes it wants. Nevertheless, after much thought, it has decided to stick to the rules of the Ashram. The only difference is that these rules will remain as ideals and every member will constantly strive towards their fulfilment. The report that those who are not prepared to observe *brahmacharya* will now be able to join the Ashram is baseless. The managing committee has especially deliberated over this question and decided that without *brahmacharya* the Udyoga Mandir cannot be maintained in the spirit of *yajna*. Industry of any kind whatsoever does not find a place in the Ashram but only such industries are taken in hand which can sustain the poorer classes among the people, raise them

economically and enable them to make progress. The managing committee has unanimously arrived at a firm decision that these activities could be carried on only if the men and women who take part in it observe *brahmacharya*. And this is indeed so. Not a single activity in the Ashram can be pursued for economic gain. These activities are developed solely from the standpoint of how best they could be pursued by the people. Those men and women who are engaged in enlarging their families or satisfying their lust can neither obtain nor impart this training.

The outcome of all this is that those who are working at present in the Satyagraha Ashram in accordance with its rules will carry on the very same activities in the name of Udyoga Mandir. This change of name was necessary for the sake of humility and truth. The organizers will again accept the name Satyagraha Ashram when they gain self-confidence.

Of course one vital change has been introduced which seemed to be impossible for the Satyagraha Ashram. During the last three months an experiment is being made of running a single kitchen for the entire Ashram. Control of the palate is one of the rules of the Ashram. Accordingly spices, etc., were not used. Some found this very difficult. It was felt that it would be undesirable to do away with a common kitchen. Hence while retaining it, two varieties of food, one spiced and the other unspiced, were introduced. When families cooked separately they used spices in the Ashram. According to the new rules spices had no place, but now they have been included.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-11-1928

24. LETTER TO JEHANGIR B. PETIT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 4, 1928

You were good enough 13 years ago to take me to the institution for the support and instruction of the blind and to the J. J. Parsi Hospital. I have a half orphan coming from Junagadh. His father is dead, mother is alive. They have no means. Someone directed them to me saying that I might find for them an institution which might accommodate this young man and give him instruction and shelter. He knows no other language but Gujarati. Will you please let me know as early as you can whether your institu-

tion can conveniently shelter this blind youth?[1] He had a virulent attack of small pox seven years ago and he lost his eyesight.

The widowed mother and the blind son are hung up here in Ahmedabad. I hope that this young man will realize his life's ambition through some such philanthropic institution like yours.

Yours sincerely,

JEHANGIR B. PETIT, ESQ.
ORGANIZER OF THE INSTITUTION FOR THE SUPPORT
AND INSTRUCTION OF BLIND
PETIT BUILDING, 359 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12984

25. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*November 5, 1928*][2]

CHI. MIRA,

I hope you got my wire[3]. You must [not][4] wear yourself out. There is no occasion for rushing. And do not deny yourself what you may definitely need for your health. If you see any report about my ill-health do not be alarmed. I had a slight attack of malaria. There is nothing today.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT, MUZAFFARPUR, BIHAR

From the original: G.N. 8212; also C.W. 5222. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] In his letter dated November 7, 1928, the addressee replied that they were prepared to admit the boy into the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, Tardeo, provided that he did not belong to the untouchable class according to the rules of the school.

[2] From the postmark

[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Mirabehn", 3-11-1928.

[4] An inadvertent slip

26. LETTER TO PRATAP S. PANDIT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 5, 1928

MY DEAR PRATAP,

I thank you for your prompt response to my request. Yes, Surendraji is one of the oldest inmates of the Ashram and among the most trusted. He tells me in his letter that you were all kindness; but he adds that he will not be bound to keep the secret[1] he had evidently in mind. The fact is that the Ashram must not possess any secret of any trade. But the Ashram will naturally respect all the confidence that might be given to it. Anyway, perhaps there are so many other things that you will teach Surendraji before he is ready to receive your secret. Meanwhile, I shall correspond with him and provide you with his own undertaking. And when he gives it to you, you may depend upon the undertaking being scrupulously observed. It would be such a joy to me when you are able to certify that Surendraji can handle the tannery of the kind, you know, I want.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PRATAP S. PANDIT
WESTERN INDIA TANNERIES LTD., POST BOX NO. 403, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 11400

27. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*November 5, 1928*][2]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have not been careful about writing this letter when it was due. Do not feel nervous if you hear news of my illness. I took some quinine yesterday. There is no fever today. I don't think I shall get any now.

[1] In his letter dated November 1, 1928, the addressee had said: "Sjt. Surendra brought your letter of introduction. . . . I understand he has been in your Ashram for a long time and as such we can trust him not to disclose our secrets to our competitors" (S.N. 11399).

[2] From the postmark

Last week I did not, after all, get [a chapter of] the Autobiography. It does not matter though, since Pyarelal is pouring out translations. Both he and Subbiah, however, are practically ill. Subbiah is running temperature today. There was a letter calling away Nirmala, so that she could help in the illness. Durga has written back to know [whether it is absolutely necessary that Nirmala should go]. If it is indeed necessary, I will send her.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MAHADEV DESAI
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 1143

28. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Silence Day, November 5, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I got your letter. I have not been able to go through all the appendices.

Mahadev does not seem to have conveyed the message. We are experimenting here with bread-making. We also wish to start bee-keeping. Please find some useful books on 'bread-making'[1] and 'bee-keeping'[2]. I wrote to Mahadev about a book on bread-making.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4707. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] & [2] Gandhiji uses the English expressions.

29. LETTER TO WILLIAM SMITH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was pleased to receive your letter. I have glanced through the report of the Council of Justice to Animals. I do not think that the kind of work done by the Council will be much appreciated in India.[1] But I can see no harm in an agent of the Council coming to India and asking those who are engaged in slaughter of animals to do so with human[e] methods of killing.

I have never forgotten the promise I made to you that I would give you an article about our dairy. I hope to redeem it some day. I have been too busy with the inner organization of the Ashram and other preoccupations to spare a few hours for the report I promised to prepare for you.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ.
IMPERIAL DAIRY EXPERT, BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 12925

30. CABLE TO ARYA SAMAJ, SUVA[2]

[On or after *November 7, 1928*]

ARYA SAMAJ
SUVA

CALF DYING GREAT AGONY. PAINLESSLY KILLED BY MEDICAL ADVICE ASSISTANCE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14723

[1] The addressee had asked whether "a society of this kind should be recommended to operate in the country".

[2] This was in reply to a telegram received on November 7, 1928 which read: "*Fiji Times* reports you ordered killing calf. Hindus perturbed. Wire truth."

31. THE INEVITABLE

> Thanks. Assault unprovoked and deliberate. Received two severe injuries but not serious, one on left chest, other on shoulder, other blows warded by friends. Satyâpal, Gopichand, Hansraj, Mohâmmad Alam, others received blows ând injuries. No cause for anxiety. — Lâjpatrai.

This was the prompt reply Lalaji sent me upon my wire to him of congratulations and enquiry.[1] Lalaji earned the title of Punjab Kesari, i.e., the Lion of the Punjab, when most of the present generation were in their teens. All these years he has survived the title. For whatever may be said of him or against him, he still remains the unchallengeable leader of the Punjab and one of the most beloved and esteemed leaders in all India. He has been President of the National Congress, enjoys a European reputation and is one of the few public men who think aloud at the risk of being often misunderstood and more often being considered indiscreet. He remains incorrigible; for he cannot harbour anything in his breast. He must speak out just as he thinks. When, therefore, I read the headline "Lalaji assaulted" and discovered how and why, I could not help saying: "Well done! Now we shall not be long getting swaraj." For whether the revolution is non-violent or violent, there is no doubt about it that before we come to our own, we shall have to learn the art of dying in the country's cause. Authority will not yield without a tremendous effort even to non-violent pressure. Under an ideal and complete non-violence, I can imagine full transformation of authority to be possible. But whilst an ideally perfect programme is possible its full execution is never possible. It is therefore the most economical thing that leaders get assaulted or shot. Hitherto obscure people have been assaulted or done to death. The assault on Lala Lajpat Rai has attracted far greater attention than even the shooting of a few men could have. The assault on Lalaji and other leaders has set the politically-minded India athinking and it must have perturbed the Government. I am loath to think that the local Government as a body knew anything of the contemplated assault. If they did and the assault was part of a deliberate plan as in the days of yore, it is so much the worse for the Government. Then of course the Government

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Lajpât Rai", 1-11-1928.

can only pretend perturbation. I would not mention such a possibility in ordinary circumstances, but holding the view that I do about the Government—the view being based on experience —whilst I should be sorry, it would not surprise me if a discovery was made that the assault was part of a deliberate plan. I admit that the provocation, viz., the very fact of the boycott, no matter how peaceful, was quite enough without the fraudulent story concocted by the police. I call the police version fraudulent because I would any day trust Lalaji's word against a host of interested witnesses that the police can bring to its assistance. If I was not convinced that this system of Government is based on force and fraud, I should not have become the confirmed non-co-operator that I am. Indeed Lowes Dickinson in his essay "War, Its Causes and Cure" has shown from sufficient evidence that a war cannot be conducted without fraud. *Pari passu* this Government of ours which professes to hold India by the sword and whose foundations were laid in fraud cannot be sustained without either, except when it undergoes transformation and is based upon popular will and confidence.

Nor are we to think that the Punjab incident is to be the last of the barbarities committed during the pendency of the Statutory Commission. The boycott of the Simon Commission is a continuing sore for the Commission and the Government. Sir John Simon and his colleagues cannot be contemplating this boycott with equanimity. They have not the courage to acknowledge defeat. The boycott itself has been given additional momentum by the unprovoked assault on the Punjab leaders. The Government will therefore feel itself bound to suppress the boycott by any means that it can command. The Punjab incident therefore I regard as the first trial of strength, the strength of non-violence against violence. Lalaji had no difficulty in restraining the vast crowd behind him in spite of the police provocation. And if throughout the stay of the unwelcome Commission in India, this non-violent policy can be successfully and efficiently carried out, the Government will find much of its occupation gone and the people would have had a striking demonstration of the effectiveness of mass non-violence. The moral therefore I would have national workers to draw from this incident is not to be depressed or taken aback by the assault, but to treat it as part of the game we have to play, to turn the irritation caused by the wanton assault into dynamic energy and husband it and utilize it for future purposes.

Young India, 8-11-1928

32. FACT AND FICTION

A friend has sent me a cutting from the *Pioneer* purporting to be a report of an interview with me and I have seen a Press message in the Bombay papers giving a summary of a further report. Both have grieved me. It would have been nice if Mr. Wild[1], who is the author of these reports, had submitted proofs to me before publishing his reports. The late Mr. Saunders of the *Englishman* used to send to interviewed persons proofs for correction or confirmation of the interviews taken by his reporters. I wish that his very laudable and desirable practice was universally followed. It was all the more necessary for Mr. Wild to follow the practice as he had come to the Ashram as an honoured guest sent by his chief and as he had taken no notes while he was interviewing me. Whilst clever reporters have been known to recall from memory an accurate substance of what they had heard without taking notes, even the cleverest will fail to reproduce in full the very words of his victim if he will take no notes. Mr. Wild has been guilty of sins both of omission and commission. He omitted to send me proofs and although he took no notes, he has professed to reproduce my own words. The result is a series of unfortunate misrepresentations. In many respects the reports are a travesty.

I do not however propose to examine the reports in detail. I would content myself with correcting one mischievous representation. Mr. Wild makes me say that "there is not a man in India today whom he (I) can name as a national leader". I could never be guilty of making such a false, arrogant and impertinent statement. Fortunately for India, she has not one but scores of national leaders who are able to give a good account of themselves and who need no certificate from me or anyone else. Probably Mr. Wild has confused the question of successor[s] with leaders. I was taken aback when he put me the question about [a] successor. For I have never thought of successors. I believe that a successor will come without effort when one is needed. But a successor even a poor scavenger or spinner may have. He need not be a leader. Once when I was called upon to name a successor I named Gulnar, the daughter of Maulana Mahomed Ali. But she is no longer now fit to occupy the coveted place. She is no

[1] Of *The Civil and Military Gazette*; *vide* "Letter to Roland G. Wild", 14-11-1928.

more a baby. My notions of [a] successor remain as primitive now as they were seven years ago when the question was first put to me.

Young India, 8-11-1928

33. HANDICAP OF MAHATMASHIP

The difficulties and afflictions of a "mahatma" are no less serious and very often much more serious than those of misters and *shriyuts*, not excluding knights and baronets. More than once in my life have I had to battle against these difficulties and afflictions created by unfriendly critics and not unoften through misunderstanding on the part of friends who will not take the trouble of ascertaining the true situation after personal inspection but will unhesitatingly accept as gospel truth any rumour that may appear in print.

Now what has appeared in the Press about the Satyagraha Ashram was wholly unauthorized.[1] When one important change in the Ashram was adopted, opinion was divided as to whether without giving a trial to the great change, we were called upon to take the public into confidence. I yielded to the express wish of some of my trusted co-workers not to announce the change. When I accepted their advice, I knew the consequence. I knew that nothing happening about anything connected with me could escape the attention of newspaper reporters. The published report is altogether misleading.

Here are the plain facts:

The constitution of the Ashram has not suffered any vital change except in its name. The reported change about *brahmacharya* for which I have received from some quarters undeserved congratulations and for which anxious friends have shown nervous concern was never made. I did leave it absolutely free to my co-workers to make whatever change they wished. After full deliberations among themselves over the proposal to relax the *brahmacharya* vow and at the discretion of the Managing Committee to admit married people unprepared for the observance, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the change could not be made. I must deal at a future date with the reasoning behind this very important decision.

[1] *Vide* also "Satyagraha Ashram", 4-11-1928.

The other reported change relates to the introduction of spices in the Ashram. In the beginning, the Ashram had only one joint board when the food was prepared without spices. Later when many families joined the Ashram separate kitchens were set up for them and they were free to use spices. But it was decided some months ago to revert to the joint kitchen. We tried for some time to do without spices but as I held the joint kitchen to be an important thing for corporate life and as many, if they had separate kitchens, would revert to spices, it was decided to have two varieties of food in the joint kitchen, spiced and unspiced. We want to give all the assistance and freedom the womenfolk need. Many of them have come to the Ashram because they are the wives of their husbands. They have not yet been able to argue out all the pros and cons of everything they do.

The real change in my opinion is the change in the name. It has caused the original founders of the Ashram many an anxious night. We claim to be votaries of unadulterated truth and so new possibilities of the definitions of fundamental truths have dawned upon us. The name Satyagraha Ashram was adopted deliberately and with the intention of giving the fullest effect to its meaning. But the progressive realization of the meaning of the name made us conscious of our unworthiness to bear it. And so we resolved upon voluntary self-suppression and we chose a name in keeping with the evolution of the corporate life at the Ashram. If the Ashram has done nothing else, it has at least demonstrated the necessity and usefulness of labour undertaken not for self only but for the whole nation. Therefore the name Udyoga Mandir, I felt, more answered our present evolution than Satyagraha Ashram. The co-workers accepted the suggestion though not without considerable hesitation. 'Industrial Home' is a poor rendering of the original as 'Dominion Status' or even 'independence' is a poor substitute for 'swaraj' which alone can signify the great mass longing of India as an individual nation. We do not take up any industry that comes our way. We select only such as we must carry on as a consecration, a *yajna* (sacrifice) or a *kurbani*. An industrial home connotes a conglomeration of industries which may appeal to some but which have no universal application. The word 'Mandir' has sacred associations and so has 'Udyoga' read in the light of the *Bhagavad Gita*. I must therefore invite friendly critics with the poetic instinct to present me with an English expression that will exactly fit in with the expression Udyoga Mandir. Till I get some good equivalent it must remain untranslatable.

But the Satyagraha Ashram does not entirely disappear. Whilst it divests itself of its external activities and allows the use of the ground on which the Ashram stands to the Udyoga Mandir —the possession to be resumed at will—the Ashram retains the open prayer ground and therefore its most life-giving activity hoping some day to be able to reabsorb the activities now surrendered. The name Satyagraha Ashram has so many sacred associations, that only the hope of reverting to it intact has reconciled us to the change of name to the extent indicated.

There is one thing more which I may not omit. It has been openly stated, more secretly whispered, that Mahadev Desai has been appointed Chairman of the Managing Committee owing to the inmates having lost confidence in me and as a concession to weakness. This is altogether untrue. The Managing Committee, if the reader will recall the previous description of the Ashram in these pages, was appointed long ago. I ceased for a long interval officially to guide its deliberations. Then at the invitation of the Committee, I took up the active guidance. But when the change in name came, the responsibility of the Chairman seemed to be eased a bit. Hence I withdrew and Mahadev Desai became Chairman once more. The virtual control of the Ashram however still remains with me and will continue to do so, so long as I continue to deserve the affection of my comrades.

Young India, 8-11-1928

34. VILLAGE ENGINEERS

Mr. Richard B. Gregg, the author of the treatise on *Economics of Khaddar*, who was at the Ashram for a few days before sailing for America, gave a couple of discourses to the students of the Technical School of the All-India Spinners' Association at Sabarmati. The first dealt with solar power and was a resume of his chapter in the treatise to which I must refer the reader. Below is given a summary[1] of the second prepared by one of the audience:

Young India, 8-11-1928

[1] Not reproduced here

35. LETTER TO JEHANGIR B. PETIT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 8, 1928

DEAR MR. PETIT,

I thank you for your very prompt reply. I am sending you now the blind boy.[1] His name is Daya Arjun. He belongs to Junagarh. He is a blacksmith, not an untouchable.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JEHANGIR B. PETIT, ESQ.
PETIT BUILDING, 359 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12984

36. LETTER TO JEHANGIR B. PETIT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 8, 1928

DEAR MR. PETIT,

Here is a copy of the letter[2] I have given to the blind boy. I am posting it to your Fort address as I have asked the boy to take the original to the School. But as you might not have gone there and might not have yet given instructions at the School, I am writing this to you so as to enable you to do the needful.

Yours sincerely,

JEHANGIR B. PETIT, ESQ.
PETIT BUILDING, 359 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12990

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Jehangir B. Petit", 4-11-1928.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

37. LETTER TO SATYANANDA BOSE[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR SATYANANDA BABU,

I have your letter. When I am in Calcutta,[2] I shall be beseiged as I always am by interviewers and friends seeking advice. I am dreading even now the visit to Calcutta in the present physical state.[3] I would therefore like to be excused from having to preside at the Social Conference. I am coming to Calcutta simply for the sake of Pandit Motilalji.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATYANANDA BOSE
4 NUNDY STREET, BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 12985

38. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letters. But I have been too busy to be able to reply. I don't need now to tell you everything about the Ashram. You will see everything in the pages of *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

I had a touch of fever, but I am all right now.[4]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKARAN
VICTORIA LODGE, MATHERAN, DISTRICT COLABA

From a photostat: S.N. 12991

[1] In reply to the addressee's letter dated November 4, 1928, wherein he had requested Gandhiji to preside over the Indian Social Conference to be held in Calcutta during the Congress Week.

[2] To attend the A.I.C.C. meeting on December 26, 1928

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 5-11-1928.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 12-11-1928.

39. LETTER TO KARIM GOOLAM ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Any interference by an outsider of the kind you suggest is bound to be misunderstood and valueless. Of what value for instance can be to Hindus a balanced opinion from an eminent Christian divine about the misdeeds of Vaishnavite Maharajahs?

Yours sincerely,

KARIM GOOLAM ALI, ESQ.
KHARADHAR, KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 12992

40. LETTER TO A. SAMBUNATHAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will have read all about the Ashram constitution in the pages of *Young India*.

I certainly think that you should not have resorted to abuses in respect of the women. You should have observed perfect silence.

About the *Gita*, you should procure a Tamil translation which can be easily read.

I am too busy just now to write out my own correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

A. SAMBUNATHAN, ESQ.
C/o T. RATNASABHAPATHY MUDALIAR, ESQ.
32 OFFICE VENKATACHALA MUDALI STREET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 12993

41. LETTER TO SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and for taking me in your confidence regarding the appointment of a successor to Sastriji.

The proposal to appoint Sir K. V. Reddi does not appeal to me at all. I have not the honour to know the gentleman. As you tell me he is a party man, it would be fatal to appoint a party man. The Agent has to enjoy the confidence of all the Indians there and of all the parties here. I hardly think that Sir K. V. Reddi will be able to possess that confidence.

The appointment is a most difficult task and it is not an easy thing to replace Sastriji. My own suggestion to you is that you should appoint yourself.[2] You know all that Sastriji has done. Therefore there will be perfect continuity. You proved your mettle in South Africa when you led the Deputation.[3] So far as I am aware you are not a suspect as a party man. The next few years are most important in the life of the little Indian community in South Africa and any mistake in the appointment will prove disastrous. If, therefore, you have sufficient courage and humility to appoint yourself, the whole difficulty is solved. But if you will shirk the duty or your going is utterly impossible, I suggest your making a desperate effort to secure Prof. Paranjpye. If that fails, in spite of Sastriji's advice that no officials should be appointed you should have Kunwar Maharaj Singh. I mention his name not because I know him or have ever met him but because Charlie

[1] In reply to his letter dated November 5, 1928, which read: "Sir K. V. Reddy who was a member of the first Ministry in Madras . . . is not perhaps as well known throughout India as Sastri or Jayakar. I happen, however, to have known him intimately now for many years. His lack of renown is really due to the fact that he is comparatively young and that his work has been confined to his own presidency. But both in the sphere of Local Self-Government and his larger field of administration as Minister, he distinguished himself by his earnestness, honesty and patriotism" (S.N. 11998).

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", 16-11-1928.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 117-9.

Andrews swore by him as the man next to Sastriji if Sastriji could[1] not be secured as the first Agent.

If all the three proposals fail, then I would say you should ask Sastriji to appoint his own successor. I can't go any further. May God help you to a right decision. You must not throw away my first suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH SAHEB BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.
MEMBER OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13282

42. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

The people of Sambalpur are pressing me to take Sambalpur[2] even if for a day on my way to Calcutta. What do you say to this?

Have I not sent you a copy of a letter[3] from Bijolia about the Utkal khadi work? Thinking that I have sent the letter, I have been waiting for your reply.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NIRANJAN PATNAIK
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BERHAMPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13719

43. LETTER TO C. V. RENGAM CHETTI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 9, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wish you could soften down a bit. In any event at the present moment I am not in active charge of

[1] The second page of the letter ends here but the source has page three of some other letter interpolated.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Achyutananda Purohit", 27-11-1928.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Niranjan Patnaik", 27-11-1928.

the affairs of the Association and I am too much preoccupied in the commitments I have undertaken to attend to anything else. But another non-Brahmin, that is, Seth Jamnalalji is in charge, and I assure you that he is a shrewd and capable business man. If you convince him of your case, he will not hesitate to intervene.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. V. RENGAM CHETTI
NARAYANAVARAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13720

44. *LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE*

Friday, November 9, 1928

BHAISHRI MAMA,

I got your letter. I was a little ill and that has delayed this reply. I think this is not a case of Ghanchis[1] against Hindus, but one involving four well-to-do business men. I see no need for us to do anything more about it. It is plain that the Bhangi student was not a votary of non-violence. He adopted a course which he thought best, and I do not think we need do anything more about it. Even if you think it is a case between Ghanchis and Hindus, your ultimate aim is to win over the former by and by. I would not mind even if a few inmates of the Ashram laid down their lives. Anyone who professes non-violence will not deserve a certificate until he passes the supreme test.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3821

[1] A community in Gujarat traditionally engaged in oil pressing

45. LETTER TO F. W. WILSON[1]

November 10, 1928

I have your letter for which I thank you. Perhaps you have seen what I wrote in *Young India*[2] about Mr. Wild's articles which make painful reading.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 12987

46. LETTER TO VIOLET

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 10, 1928

MY DEAR VIOLET,

I have your letter. Hinduism should certainly be purged of all the evil and superstition that have crept into it. Nothing then need be a substitute for it. It is, in my opinion, an all-embracing and all-sufficing religion.

I hope your aunt is quite well now.

Yours sincerely,

[MRS. VIOLET
C/o] MISS BABA GUNASEKERA
55 HAMPDEN LANE, WELLAWATTE, COLOMBO

From a photostat: S.N. 12994

47. CRUELTY IN GUISE OF JUSTICE

Offshoots of the riots between Hindus and Muslims in Surat still continue. Although the fighting with sticks and daggers has ceased, the battle now goes on in the law-courts. I am still receiving letters on this subject. However, I am in no position nor have I the ability to become a party to this dispute. Neverthe-

[1] In reply to addressee's letter dated November 7, 1928, which read: "I am most sincerely sorry if I have published anything which is either inaccurate or which conveys a wrong impression. I published (in *The Pioneer*) what Mr. Wild wrote in all good faith, supposing that he had arranged with you as to what he was going to say."

[2] *Vide* "Fact and Fiction", 8-11-1928.

less, when I received two or three letters about a certain matter, I considered it my dharma to investigate it. This related to a complaint that the editor of the local daily *Hindu*, Shri Chimanlal Joshi, was taken to the court in handcuffs. As I could not believe this report, I inquired of a trustworthy friend about it. The latter writes:[1]

Even a person accused of murder should not be treated in this manner; how then can a gentleman be subjected to such treatment? No Hindu-Muslim problem is involved in this case. No Muslim who has a soul would tolerate such treatment of a Hindu. Similarly, no Hindu who has a soul would tolerate such cruelty towards a Muslim. If cruelty is inflicted and tolerated in this manner, law-courts should be sealed as justice would be defamed. Hence this case deserves to be considered dispassionately.

Can an accused who has not yet been convicted be led in this way like an animal? One fails to understand the reason for such conduct. If it is said that this procedure was followed because the allegations against him were of a serious nature, it will amount to sentencing the accused before he is tried. Moreover, one has not heard of any punishment in the Penal Code which involves the putting on of manacles. To do so is not in itself a form of punishment. However, if the prisoner is unruly or if he tries to use his hands threateningly or attempts to escape, he is handcuffed so as to prevent him from resorting to either course. In the present case, there was no danger of the accused, Shri Chimanlal Joshi, raising his hands threateningly or running away. Hence we cannot but conclude that he was handcuffed merely by way of cruelty and for insulting him. It is necessary for both Hindus and Muslims to protest against such callousness.

It is clear that the prison too is in a primitive condition. Previously, too, I had received a protest in this matter and I had commented on it.

Let Hindus and Muslims of Surat fight one another to their hearts' content in the name of Ishwar or Allah; but how can they conclude that neither of these gods exists and tolerate such cruelty and barbaric conduct?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-11-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had confirmed that Chimanlal Joshi had been handcuffed and made to walk five miles to the court, because the police superintendent had forgotten to order removal of the fetters. The condition of bathrooms and lavatories in the prison was awful.

48. LETTER TO ABHAY SHARMA

November 11, 1928

BHAISHRI ABHAY SHARMA,

Your letter. It was not our intention to send away Balbir[1] without a cause. Even though he sleeps near me, I keep him under others' supervision as well. I entrusted him to Somabhai, then to Narandas. At present he is with Krishna Nayar and Gangabehn. Now he tells me that he is being overworked. I see . . .[2] used to devote quite some time to the charkha work but used little brains. He did work on the farm but could impress none with his diligence. He could not satisfy Gangabehn, moreover she suspected him of being a flatterer. His habit of faultfinding has no limit. For this reason he was always too eager to hear all casual talk. Mirabehn . . . .[3]

I had referred to the Arya Samaj at the Brahmo Samaj function. I mentioned the good as well as bad points because it was pertinent. I do not know what was reported in the newspapers. I made no reference in *Navajivan* because I had no wish to be unnecessarily involved in a controversy. My views are the same as before. The Arya Samaj has done great service but has all the same shown a lack of liberalism.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6757

49. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

November 12, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your indictment of the Ashram people. You will have read my account in *Young India* of the changes.[4] If you still retain the horror of return to the Ashram, you shall certainly remain outside and meet me whenever I go out of the Ashram. Wherever you are, I know you will be doing my work. And you

[1] A student of Charkha Sangh who had come to learn khadi work

[2] & [3] Some words here are not legible in the source.

[4] *Vide* "Handicap of Mahatmaship", 8-11-1928.

will be doing it all the more where you are happy and well. There are so many centres of khadi. You may choose whichever you like.

The Austrian friends will be soon going. They have to sail on 21st. They leave here on 18th or 17th.

I had a touch of malaria. I am free now, have been for the last six days. I am just now living on fruit alone. Mahadev has come for two days. He goes back to B[ardoli] tomorrow.[1]

Purbai has gone to Orissa. Chhaganlal and his wife will also be going there presently. Krishnadas is now in Sodepur. Rajendra Babu is here and undergoing fasting cure for asthma. Gregg has sailed for America.

Pyarelal and Subbiah have had their innings of malaria. They seem now to be free though weak.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: G.N. 8214; also C.W. 5324. Courtesy: Mirabehn

50. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI

November 12, 1928

CHI. RAMI,

I read your letter to Ba. I hope your fever has gone now. Here too everyone has had it. I was also caught. Ba and Nimu too had it. Rasik is in Delhi at present and Ramdas is in Bardoli. As you know, Devdas has been in Delhi for a long time now. Navin too has gone there. I trust the children are happy. Chi. Sushila has given birth to a daughter. I shall be leaving for Wardha on the 22nd or the 23rd accompanied by Ba. To both of you a good New Year.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Greetings from Ba.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9712

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Urmila Devi", 14-11-1928.

51. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

Amas, November 12, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Having been unable to write to you for so long, I feel ashamed while penning this. Your letters did come.

I do not want to write more as we shall now meet at Wardha.

I had sent a cable in connection with the present hardships in South Africa.

The incident of the calf and the monkeys did annoy me but it was a good opportunity of understanding human nature and of controlling my temper.

Mahadev told me many things about you and it gladdened my heart, although I am already acquainted with much of it.

I propose to reach Wardha on the 24th instant.

The rest when we meet.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Jamnalalji is going to Bombay today. Mahadev is at Bardoli these days. He has come here for three days.

From Hindi: C.W. 6165. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

52. *LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN M. PANDYA*

November 12, 1928

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYAN,

I have your letter. When we find two leaders divided in their views, and hold both in equal respect, we should accept the view which appeals to our conscience.

During student-life, one should not take active part in politics.

We should feel respect for our teachers and emulate only their good qualities.

I do not respect the traditional practices observed during an eclipse.

Please take this as my message.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI LAKSHMINARAYAN MOJILAL PANDYA
NAGARWADO, LUNAWADA

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2658. Courtesy: Lakshminarayan M. Pandya

53. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

Amas, Silence Day [November 12, 1928][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Today is the new moon day, and also my silence day. I am therefore writing this letter for the pleasure of doing so. I had preserved the statement of account sent by you. I examined it today in the smallest detail. I do find a few things about which I would like to have further explanation, but on the whole there is nothing to object to. My New Year blessings to you that you may follow the path of goodness and keep good health. The same to Navin and Rasik. My health is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI DEVDAS GANDHI
JAMIA MILLIA, KAROL BAGH, DELHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2126

54. *LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA*

Amas [November 12, 1928][2]

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have preserved till this day your sincere letter on the subject of non-violence. When I took it up today, which is both the new moon day and my silence day, in order to reply to it, I asked myself whether it was really necessary that I should engage you in a discussion on this subject. When we are bound to each other through a tie of the heart, we shall in time understand what

[1] & [2] From the postmark

both of us mean. If either of us is in error, the error will be plain to all and we shall honestly admit it. Since I feel thus, I will not engage you in a futile discussion. If you can leave Akola and come to Wardha, please do so. If you wish we shall have a little talk over the matter.

My blessings to all of you.

BAPU

SHRI NANABHAI MASHRUWALA
AKOLA, C.P.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6678

55. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

SABARMATI,
November 13, 1928

MIRABEHN
KHADI BHANDAR, MUZAFFARPUR

YOU MAY ATTEND. SENDING COTTON. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: G. N. 8215; also C.W. 5325. Courtesy: Mirabehn

56. LETTER TO A. GORDON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You will forgive me for delaying to reply to your letter of 21st September for such a long time. The fact is that every admission to the Ashram is regulated by a Committee of Management to which I have referred your letter, and I have just learnt the decision of the Committee that in the present state of the Ashram, it is not possible to keep disabled men, the scope of the Ashram being entirely different. I am sorry indeed that the Ashram is not able to provide shelter for the young man,[1] but I

[1] In his letter dated September 21, 1928, the addressee had said that M. Moses, aged 20 , an outcaste and an orphan, had a paralysed leg, which was removed after an operation, had studied up to 8th standard in Vuyyuru Boarding School and could do tailoring, weaving or mat-making.

am sure you will appreciate the difficulty of the Committee of Management.

But will you be prepared to send him to some other institution if I can find one[1] that will take charge of him? Of course I should not recommend a single institution about whose ability to take proper care of such cases I was not myself sure.

Yours sincerely,

REV. A. GORDON
CANADIAN BAPTIST MISSION, VUYYURU, KISTNA DISTRICT

From a photostat: S.N. 12974

57. LETTER TO ROLAND G. WILD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2] enclosing the cuttings. You perhaps have seen my comment upon them. And many things you have put into my mouth and views you have ascribed to me I fail to recognize myself, and some of them are so palpably absurd that I cannot imagine how you came to attribute them to me. Do you not think you owed it to me to show me the proof?

Yours sincerely,

ROLAND G. WILD, ESQ.
"THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE"
P.O. BOX NO. 36, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 12988

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 28-11-1928.
[2] Dated November 7, 1928

58. *LETTER TO URMILA DEVI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 14, 1928

Mr. Devdhar sends me copy of letters written to you and reports to me that you have been laid up in bed at Dr. Sen's house. What could the matter be with you? And how are you now? Who is Dr. Sen?

Mahadev was here for three days. He went last night to Bardoli and expects to return on Friday or Saturday.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI
C/O DR. SEN
C/O METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE, POONA

From a photostat: S.N. 12997

59. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 14, 1928

Here is a letter and copy of my reply.[1] You will either write to the complainant yourself or enable me to send him a further reply.

I have your telegram which surprises me. I could not possibly go to the length you suggest. Enclosed is a copy of the letter[2] I sent to Sir Mahomed Habibullah. Please discuss the subject no more with anybody and destroy the enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
KHADI VASTRALAYA, ESPLANADE, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 12788

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Kannayiram Pillay", 29-11-1928.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", 9-11-1928.

60. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 14, 1928

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

I have your letter. The best thing I could do was to forward your letter to Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai.[1] Beyond that you won't expect me to go.

I am sorry about Krishna.[2] I hope she will soon be well. Is her illness the reason for her long silence?

I note what you say about Punjab politics.[3]

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT K. SANTANAM
THE LAKSHMI INSURANCE CO. LTD.
P. O. BOX. NO. 30, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 12996

61. ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

The Association has now been at work for over two years. It has made steady progress on the business side. Its organization is being gradually perfected. Its finances are on a sound footing. It takes or makes no commitments beyond its ability. But on the score of membership, it has not proved attractive. I confess that not much effort has been made to attract members. The Council has thought it unwise to spend public money in carrying on propaganda in that direction, feeling that those who realize the national importance of hand-spinning and the dignity of labour would of their own accord join the Association. Such however has not been the case. People have not been attracted to the constructive side of national work nor have they developed the

[1] In his letter dated November 10, 1928, the addressee had requested Gandhiji to put in a word regarding his Lakshmi Insurance Co., Ltd., to Ambalal Sarabhai who was thinking of insuring his employees in his various concerns.

[2] She had been unwell for two months.

[3] The addressee said that he was not taking very active part in politics at that time chiefly due to the fact that there were local factions in the Congress.

capacity for unassuming steady work. Many even of those who joined in the beginning have fallen off.

Nevertheless the Council does not feel disposed to alter the terms of membership but is of opinion that some day or other public workers are bound to realize the importance of hand-spinning for the nation and therefore for themselves, and that some day it will be recognized as a matter of shame for anybody not to spin even as it would be today a matter of shame not to protest one's loyalty to the country or not to attend on due occasions public meetings.

But even though the membership has not increased and has not attracted those who would work a big financial corporation like the Association, its finances have grown. It is therefore thought advisable to appoint a permanent Board of Trustees in whom the funds should be vested. With that end in view Sjt. Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari and Sjt. Rajendra Prasad have drafted the following resolutions:

> I. Whereas the All-India Spinners' Association was founded on 23rd September 1925, as an expert and independent organization for the development of hand-spinning and khaddar and it was endowed with assets by the Indian National Congress for the said purpose:
>
> Whereas the first Executive Council of the All-India Spinners' Association under the constitution so framed was to hold office for five years and authorized not only to deal with its assets and to raise further funds for the purposes of the Association, but also to make such amendments in the constitution as may be considered necessary in the light of its experience:
>
> Whereas the Executive Council since its establishment has raised and in view of the increasing work of the Association must continue to raise from time to time considerable funds from the public:
>
> Whereas it is found necessary often to enter into agreements, raise funds by way of loans on the security of its assets, and make commitments going beyond its own lifetime:
>
> And whereas for these and other reasons, the experience of the last three years has shown that it is desirable to amend the constitution so as to vest the funds and all the assets of the Association in a permanent Board of Trustees who shall hold them for the purposes of the Association and who shall also be the Governing Body of the Association:
>
> It is hereby resolved as follows:
>
> 1. That the funds and assets now held by the All-India Spinners' Association and its various Branches henceforth vest in a Board of Trustees who shall also be the Executive Council of the Association

2. That the said Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall consist of the undermentioned twelve persons who shall hold office for life, provided they continue to be members of the Association, and three other persons elected annually by the members of the Association from among its A-Class members, provided that for this purpose no one who has not been on the rolls continuously for two years at the time of election shall be entitled to vote.

Names of members of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council:

. . . .[1]

3. That any vacancy occurring by reason of resignation, death or otherwise shall be filled up by the remaining members from amongst A-Class members of the Association:

II. Resolved that if any member fails to send his yarn quota for six months he shall cease to be a member.

III. Resolved that the constitution be amended to embody the foregoing provisions.

IV. Resolved that a meeting of the members of the Association be convened as early as possible to elect three members to the Board of Trustees and Executive Council under Resolution I, clause 2.

It is being circulated among the members of the Council and will be placed before it for adoption at a special meeting to be convened at Wardha on the 18th December next.

I heartily endorse the proposal. One striking feature about the proposal is that it introduces an element of election in the appointment of trustees. This was not contemplated by any of us when the Council was self-formed. The idea is to make the All-India Spinners' Association a democratic body as early as it is possible to do so. I invite suggestions from the readers of *Young India* on the proposal.

Young India, 15-11-1928

[1] As in the source; for list of trustees, *vide* "All-India Spinners' Association", 27-12-1928.

62. AS EVER

The Punjab Government's communique over the unprovoked assault on Lalaji and other leaders exculpates the police from all blame which means that the old policy of excusing the police and the military, no matter how they act, continues to reign supreme as ever. This is not to be wondered at. So long as the Government remains irresponsive and irresponsible to the popular will, so long must it be subservient to the police and the military.

The departmental inquiry proposed by the Government is a further eyewash. It is preposterous to expect Lalaji and the other leaders to stultify themselves by leading evidence before a committee which the people have every reason to distrust. If the Government had been really anxious to know the truth about the incident, they would have appointed a representative committee of a judicial nature which would inspire public confidence and whose findings would command respect. I congratulate Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends on having decided not to lead evidence before the departmental committee. Lalaji has thrown down the challenge. He courts a libel action and undertakes to prove a case which the Government had the hardihood summarily to brush aside.

But the question that arises from this incident is much larger than the mere demonstration of the truth of Lalaji's version. For the public, so long as the Government do not prove otherwise beyond doubt, Lalaji's version stands. The larger question is how are the people to remedy the evil of irresponsible Government. The assault and the bolstering are but a symptom of the great disease of bondage. I wish that we could all seriously deal with the root of the evil rather than set about cutting off the branches which sprout forth like Ravana's heads as soon as they are cut off. In other words we have to develop sufficient strength to resist the main disease.

I dare not enter into the question of remedies. My own remedy is well known. My purpose just now is not to insist upon its acceptance or the acceptance of any particular remedy. I simply plead that it is up to all the leaders of public opinion seriously to concentrate upon finding an expeditious and effective remedy for dealing with the evil of foreign domination.

Young India, 15-11-1928

63. *NOTES*

For Rest

After having been at the Ashram, now Udyoga Mandir, for nearly eleven months I propose to go to Wardha during the last week of the month to pass a quiet time at the Satyagraha Ashram there. As usual the newspapers have anticipated me and the date of my departure. They have announced 15th instant as the date. Already correspondents are on my track asking for interviews. I may say that I do not reach Wardha before 24th instant nor leave Sabarmati before 22nd instant.[1] But when I go to Wardha I go there for rest and not for appointments. I would therefore request people living in that neighbourhood to excuse me from all appointments and allow me to have the rest which perhaps I deserve.

Karachi Sweepers

With reference to the discussion that took place recently in Karachi Municipality on the question of khadi wear for its employees, the President of the Sweepers' Union has now sent me the text of a resolution passed by the Sweepers' Union. It runs as follows:

> The Union notes with regret the discussion regarding khadi uniforms in a recent Municipal meeting and thanking sincerely the President of the Karachi Municipality for the solicitude shown by him for the sweepers, most respectfully and humbly begs to draw his attention to the fact that as agriculturists sweepers have been wearing *pankorun*, i.e., khadi, for a long time and that the khadi uniforms are not at all inconvenient to them. On the contrary they (the sweepers) appreciate the national sentiment signifying the use of khadi and sympathize with their brothers and sisters, who get much-needed supplementary income by spinning and doing other processes. This Union therefore urges on the Municipality to continue khadi uniforms in future.

I wonder whether this resolution was passed only by half a dozen sweepers or whether it was known and explained to all the sweeper employees of the Municipality. The Secretary informs me that it was fully explained to the sweepers before the resolution was passed. It is a resolution which I can gladly com-

[1] Gandhiji actually left on November 23; *vide* "Telegram to G. D. Birla", 22-11-1928.

mend to all the municipal employees. No compulsion superimposed upon them about khadi or anything else can possibly last; but if an educative propaganda such as has been carried on amongst the sweepers of Karachi were to be carried amongst the employees of municipalities throughout India and if they were to ask for khadi uniforms, no municipality will be able for any length of time to resist such a demand. I therefore congratulate the Sweepers' Union upon their resolution.

"God Is"

Having read this article in *Young India* (11-10-1928) a reader sends the following bracing quotations from Emerson:

> A little consideration of what takes place around us every day would show us that a higher law than that of our will regulates events; that our painful labours are unnecessary and fruitless; that only in our easy, simple, spontaneous action are we strong and by contenting ourselves with obedience we become divine. Belief and love — a believing love will relieve us of a vast load of care. O my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the centre of Nature, and over the will of every man, so that none of us can wrong the universe.
>
> The lesson is forcibly taught that our life might be much easier and simpler than we make it; that the world might be a happier place than it is; that there is no need of struggles, convulsions, and despairs, of the wringing of the hands and the gnashing of teeth; that we miscreate our own evils. We interfere with the optimism of Nature.

If we would but have a little faith we would see God and His love everywhere about us.

Greens and Dietetic Ahimsa

A friend writes from Calcutta:

> You have observed in one of your previous articles on dietetics that it is undesirable to cook the greens since cooking destroys their vitamin contents. Now the Jains believe that all vegetable fare with the exception of ripe fruit contains countless germs invisible to the eye which by setting up putrefaction give rise to a variety of diseases unless the vegetables are cooked. Jain sadhus do not even take water unless it is previously boiled. This view is thus in direct contradiction to your view. Which of these views can be correct? Would you throw some light on the matter?

I have already expressed my opinion on this point in *Navajivan*.[1] If one may take ripe fruit without cooking I see no reason why

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 253-4.

one may not take vegetables too in an uncooked state provided one can properly digest them. Dieteticians are of opinion that the inclusion of a small quantity of raw vegetables like cucumber, vegetable marrow, pumpkin, gourd, etc., in one's menu is more beneficial to health than the eating of large quantities of the same cooked. But the digestions of most people are very often so impaired through a surfeit of cooked fare that one should not be surprised if at first they fail to do justice to raw greens, though I can say from personal experience that no harmful effect need follow if a *tola* or two of raw greens are taken with each meal provided one masticates them thoroughly. It is a well established fact that one can derive a much greater amount of nourishment from the same quantity of food if it is masticated well. The habit of proper mastication of food inculcated by the use of uncooked greens, therefore, if it does nothing else, will at least enable one to do with less quantity of food and thus not only make for economy in consumption but also automatically reduce the dietetic *himsa* that one commits to sustain life. Therefore whether regarded from the viewpoint of dietetics or that of ahimsa the use of uncooked vegetables is not only free from all objection but is to be highly recommended. Of course it goes without saying that if the vegetables are to be eaten raw extra care will have to be exercised to see that it is not stale, over-ripe or rotten, or otherwise dirty.

Young India, 15-11-1928

64. LETTER TO K. M. VAIDYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 15, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am tired out. I have no desire to accept any engagement this time whilst I am at Wardha. I want to give myself as much quiet as possible. I would not have the energy to give an address worth listening to. You will please therefore excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. M. VAIDYA
BEHIND HITAVADA PRESS, CRADDOCK TOWN, NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 12998

65. *LETTER TO EVELYN C. GEDGE*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 15, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wish I could do something for the friend you mention.[1] But it is difficult for me to suit him. All the work we have at the Ashram is principally physical labour such as spinning, weaving, farming, dairying and payments we make are also very small.

Yours sincerely,

MISS EVELYN C. GEDGE
UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT
VACCHAGANDHI ROAD, P.O. 7, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12999

66. *LETTER TO MADELEINE R. HARDING*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 15, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter enclosing the introduction from Rev. F. B. Meyor. I should have been delighted to meet personally one bringing a note from Mr. Meyor, and I hope that it will still be possible for us to meet some time. When you write to Mr. Meyor, please send him my kind regards and tell him that the meeting in Johannesburg to which he refers in his note is still fresh in my memory.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MADELEINE R. HARDING
JOSHI VILLA, NAINITAL

From a photostat: S.N. 13000

[1] Miss Gedge had a student, Mrs. Cama, at her settlement whose husband had lost his job in the Provincial Civil Service on the charge of accepting a bribe. He had undergone a sentence at Sabarmati Jail and now upon his release needed rehabilitation in some job. Miss Gedge had suggested that Gandhiji might offer him a job or arrange to obtain one for him through Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai.

67. MESSAGE TO ANDHRA CONFERENCES

[On or before *November 16, 1928*]

I wish every success to the Conferences[1] and I hope, in a poor district like yours, the wheel will have its due appreciation.

The Hindu, 16-11-1928

68. LETTER TO LONGMANS GREEN & CO. LTD.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 16, 1928

MESSRS LONGMANS GREEN & CO. LTD.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON E.C. 4.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter addressed to Swami Anand about the *Autobiography*. The rights of English publication were given by me some time ago to the Macmillan Company of New York. Mr. Andrews is now engaged in doing something of the kind of work you propose. I would therefore refer you to Mr. Andrews, 112 Gower Street, London S.W.1.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 14844

69. LETTER TO DEVI WEST

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 16, 1928

I have your letter and the photographs for Ba. I have not the time to say anything more about the activities here, but I am keeping in touch with you through the pages of *Young India*. I have therefore satisfied myself with simply sending you my love.

Yours sincerely,

MISS DEVI WEST
23 GEORGE STREET, LOUTH, LINCOLNSHIRE

From a photostat: S.N. 14406

[1] Which were to begin on November 17, 1928 at Nandyala

70. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 16, 1928

I have your two letters. I was delighted to have your description about the opening ceremony[1]. I hope you will flourish more and more. Do keep me in touch with your movements.

I should certainly be delighted to see Mrs. Winifred Dickenson[2] when she comes.

I don't need to give you any information about the Ashram because you must glean everything about the Ashram from the pages of *Young India.*

Yours sincerely,

MISS MURIEL LESTER
KINGSLEY HALL, POWIS ROAD, BOW, E. 3
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14414

71. LETTER TO SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter. I am sorry that it is not possible for you to accept my first suggestion.[3] I appreciate your objection.[4]

From your letter I gather that the decision about Sir K. V. Reddi had already been taken.[5] I am afraid I shall not be able

[1] Of the new prayer hall

[2] A friend and co-worker of the addressee who was coming over to India to teach in a school near Madras

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", 9-11-1928.

[4] In his letter dated November 9, 1928, the addressee had said: "My domestic difficulties, however, are such that it is impossible for me even to think of making sojourn outside India for any length of time. A motherless unmarried daughter and a young son in school are living obligations which must claim my attention during the rest of what is left to me of my life, at least until they are suitably settled" (S.N. 12786).

[5] In his letter he had also said: "It was after the most careful survey of the whole situation that we decided to select Reddi."

to support the appointment, and may feel called upon to oppose it. You might have seen in the papers that the matter has already leaked out. I have myself received a letter asking me to protest against the proposal. But I do not yet see my way clear to take any step. Have you ascertained from Sastriji his opinion about the appointment of Sir K. V. Reddi?

Yours sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH SAHEB BAHADUR, K.C.I.E.
NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14854

72. TELEGRAM TO AMRIT RAI

November 17, 1928

LALA AMRIT RAI
LAHORE

YOUR WIRE[1] STUNS ME. LALAJI'S DEATH CALAMITY FIRST MAGNITUDE. MY DEEPEST SYMPATHY WITH YOU MOTHER OTHER MEMBERS FAMILY. HOPE GOD WILL GIVE YOU STRENGTH FOLLOW HIS FOOTSTEPS.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

73. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

November 17, 1928

VALLABHBHAI PATEL
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI

LALAJI DIED THIS MORNING HEART FAILURE. HOLD CONDOLENCE MEETING THERE.

BAPU

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

[1] *Vide* "The Lion of the Punjab Sleeps", 18-11-1928.

74. LETTER TO HARRY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. I would like you first of all to tell me what you want to confer with me about. I cannot possibly trouble you to come to Sabarmati or to Wardha where I expect to proceed shortly.

With reference to your intention to stay at the Ashram for some days, I am sorry that it will not be possible. The Ashram or rather the Udyoga Mandir is under the control of a board of management.

Yours sincerely,

HARRY, ESQ.
C/o S. K. GHOSH, ESQ.
EXECUTIVE ENGINEER'S OFFICE, NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 12790

75. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 17, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

Your letter frees me from all anxiety. So long as you are willing to act as Agent, no change need be made, and certainly not whilst there is rumour of your being spirited away. When

[1] In reply to his letter dated November 14, 1928, which read: ". . . for various reasons it would be desirable for the A.I.S.A. Council to have a more competent person than myself as agent in the U.P. . . . I did not mean that I want to get rid of the responsibility of the work. . . . But if it is possible to make better arrangements I shall welcome them.

". . . . The only person I can think of in the U.P. is Kripalani. He is practically a U.P. man now, is well known in khadi circles here and is a whole-timer. . . .

"There is no immediate hurry in this matter. I wanted the A.I.S.A. Council to consider it largely in view of the rumours of the impending arrest" (S.N. 12787).

that event happens, we shall see. Personally I like the idea of Kripalani becoming Agent when you can no longer shoulder the burden. We shall discuss the matter further if you can come to Wardha on the 18th December or we shall do so in Calcutta.

Sitla Sahai wanted to be in the Ashram for some months for mental adjustment more than anything else. He has domestic and other worries preying upon him. He wanted a quiet time and he is having it.

I am sorry about Kamala.[1] Evidently she never completely recovered in Switzerland. I am glad you are taking her to Calcutta. She will at least have the best advice possible.

I hope you are not overworking yourself. Lalaji's death is a great calamity.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 12791

76. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 17, 1928

I have your two letters by me. Mahadev is not here. I am quite out of the wood now though still somewhat weak and have to be careful.

I do not know where I shall stay in Calcutta. Nothing is yet decided, but you will stay with me no matter where I am accommodated. You need not therefore bother about your lodging in Calcutta. Kindly tell me who will be coming. The date of my reaching Calcutta I shall let you know in good time from Wardha and perhaps you will join me by the train that will take me to Calcutta.

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDINGS, CHOWPATTI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12792

[1] In his letter Jawaharlal Nehru had said: "Kamala has been giving us a great deal of anxiety."

77. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 17, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Having allowed Vakil to deal with poverty I cannot very well refuse admission to his articles[1] on remedies. They have done one good. He is interesting himself in this question and he has stimulated a little more interest. My criticism[2] disposes of his main argument.

I wonder whether you know that Anil Baran Roy has been writing to the *Chronicle* violently against khadi. The article is almost of a same style as the *Welfare* article that appeared some years ago.

About the Social Conference. I had a letter from the Conference people and I was obliged to say no.[3]

When I come to Calcutta I shall be delighted to go into the Pratishthan affairs and see what should be done.

I am glad Baidyanathji[4] is coming in close touch with you. He is a good-hearted man and wants to do active service. I must suggest to him coming either to Wardha to discuss his scheme or postpone the discussion till after I am in Calcutta, only there may be no time in Calcutta for a quiet discussion. It is difficult for me to sketch a scheme without cross-examining Baidyanathji and finding out what is exactly at the back of his mind.

I am glad Krishnadas is there with you. I hope he is keeping well. Please give my love to him. I would like him to stay with you for some time if the climate at Sodepur agrees with him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 12793

[1] Entitled "Remedies of Poverty"; these were published in *Young India* on September 27, October 4, 11 and 18, 1928.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 44-5 and 235-6.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Satyananda Bose", 9-11-1928.

[4] Kedia

78. *LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK*

November 17, 1928

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I have your letter. Even sitting still in a cave is a form of action. In that too, there may be attachment or other such evils. So long as we live in the body, we cannot escape exercising the will, that is, action. It is not true that patriotic service is necessarily characterized by attachment. Our *purushartha*[1] lies in striving to overcome whatever weaknesses we see in ourselves.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RAMNARAYAN NAGARDAS PATHAK
SHRI GANDHIJI ANTYAJA ASHRAM
CHHAYA (PORBANDAR)

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2784. Courtesy: Ramnarayan Pathak

79. *LETTER TO JAL KHAMBHATTA*

November 17, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. It is good news indeed that you have returned and are all right. I am very happy to know that your health is completely restored. Please let me know if you have had any new experiences about water treatment. Be careful and preserve the health you have recovered. My blessings to you both.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5018. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

[1] Endeavour

80. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

November 17, 1928

I got the sad news from the deceased patriot's son early this morning. I regard Lalaji's death at this juncture to be a national calamity of the first magnitude.[1] His place is difficult and impossible to fill. Not many public men can today show an unbroken record of public service of such long standing as Lalaji's. Whatever might be said to the contrary, it has been my firm conviction that he was a friend of Mussalmans and sincerely desirous of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity. How I wish that this truth could be realized by us all and that Lalaji's death could be turned to good account by the nation by establishing unity and promoting perfect toleration for which Lalaji always stood. I know that in his heart there was neither rancour nor ill will for anybody. His life was an open book. As a comrade, it was a privilege to work with him; as a friend he was ever faithful. To the student world he was a tower of strength. I know that many will gladly bear testimony to his wise counsel, guidance and patronage. I know that there would be a memorial to the memory of the deceased but I can imagine no truer memorial than work for swaraj and all it implies with redoubled zeal.

The Hindu, 19-11-1928

81. TRIBUTE TO LAJPAT RAI[2]

AHMEDABAD,
November 17, 1928

Mahatmaji said that Lalaji's death had left a gap which it was difficult to be filled. His was a glorious death and he died a patriot. Mahatmaji asked the inmates to take lessons from Lalaji's life and emulate his high sense of duty.

I do not believe that Lalaji is dead, but he lives.

The Tribune, 20-11-1928

[1] *Vide* also "Telegram to Amrit Rai", 17-11-1928.

[2] Released by Free Press with the following introduction: "After prayers in the Satyagraha Ashram this evening Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the inmates of the Ashram, feelingly communicated the sad news of Lalaji's death."

82. SOME MORE POSERS IN AHIMSA[1]

Letters in connection with the calf incident still continue to pour in. But I have had my full say already and such letters as needed a reply I have already answered. I however feel in duty bound to deal with some posers addressed to me by some correspondents. Not to do so might lead to consequences not warranted by my action.

I

One of them writes:

> My baby is four months old. It fell ill a fortnight after its birth and there seems no end of its ailment in sight. Several vaidyas and doctors have tried their skill upon him, but in vain; some of them now even decline to administer any medicine to him. They feel, and I feel with them, that the fate of the poor thing is sealed. I have a big family to maintain and I feel myself reduced to sore straits as I have an accumulation of debts. Nor can I any longer bear to see the terrible sufferings of the baby. Would you kindly tell me what I should do in the circumstances?

It is clear that this friend has not been reading *Navajivan* carefully or he would not have asked this question. There would be no warrant for taking the life of the baby even if all the doctors in the world were to pronounce the case to be hopeless because it would always be possible for its father to nurse it. He can soothe the baby in a variety of ways, its size unlike the calf's being manageable. It is only when every possible avenue of service however small is closed and the last ray of hope of the patient surviving seems extinct that one is justified in putting him out of pain, and then too only if one is completely free from the taint of selfish feeling. In the present case, not only is the service of the ailing baby possible, but the main consideration that, on the father's own admission, weighs with him is the personal inconvenience involved in nursing the baby. Largeness of the family or one's pecuniary difficulty can never serve as a justification for putting an end to the life of an ailing patient and I have not the slightest doubt that in the present instance, it is the bounden

[1] This is a translation by Pyarelal of Gujarati items which appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-11-1928 and 18-11-1928.

duty of the father to lavish all his love and care on his suffering baby. There is however one thing more which he can do: if he has sense enough to see it, he should resolve forthwith to lead a life of perfect self-restraint and further stop procreating irrespective of whether his present baby survives or not.

II

Another friend writes in the course of a Hindi letter:

> I am the manager of . . . goshala. There are in my charge some 500 head of cattle. They are all utterly useless for any purpose and are simply eating their head off. Out of these from 350 to 400 animals on the average are constantly at death's door, destined to die off one by one in the long end every year. Now tell me what am I to do?

As I have already explained, giving the short shrift, from considerations of financial expediency, can never be compatible with non-violence. And if it is a fact that not a day passes in this goshala without some animal or other dying painfully in the manner of that calf in the Ashram, it makes out a strong case for closing the goshala at once for it betrays fearful mismanagement. The calf in the Ashram was reduced to such piteous plight only as the result of an accident but daily instances like this should *ipso facto* be impossible in a well-managed institution. The duty of the management in the present case is thus clear. It is incumbent upon them and upon the organizers of all similarly placed institutions to devise the most effective means of nursing and ministering to the needs of diseased and ailing cattle. I would also recommend to them for careful study and consideration my description of an ideal pinjrapole and the way it ought to be managed that I have given more than once in these pages.

III

Writes a Kanbi friend:

> There is a grazing-ground for the cattle near our village. It is overrun by a herd of deer about five to seven hundred strong. They work hâvoc upon all our cotton saplings. We are in a fix. We can easily get rid of them by employing professional watchmen who would kill them for the venison they would get. What would be your advice to a man in my condition? Again when insect pests attack our crops the only way to deal with them is to light a fire of hay which means making a holocaust of the insect pests. What course would you suggest in these circumstances?

This question is of a different order from the other two questions; it falls under the category of the monkey question, not the calf question. I am unable to guide anyone in the path of *himsa.* In fact no person can lay down for another the limit to which he may commit *himsa.* This is a question which everybody must decide for himself according to the measure of his capacity for ahimsa. This much however I can say without any hesitation that to use the analogy of the monkeys to justify the killing of the deer would only betray a laziness of thought and lack of discrimination; the two cases are so dissimilar. Besides, I have not yet decided to kill the monkeys, nor is there any likelihood of my doing so presently. On the contrary it has been and shall be my ceaseless anxiety to be spared that painful necessity. Moreover there is quite a number of ways of keeping off the deer from the fields which would be impossible in the case of elusive creatures like monkeys. Whilst therefore reiterating what every farmer knows from his daily experience also to be true, viz., that destruction of small insects and worms is inevitable in agriculture, I am unable to proceed any further, but must content myself by stating generally that it is the sacred duty of everybody to avoid committing *himsa* to the best of one's power.

IV

Still another friend writes:

> You say that an absolute observance of ahimsa is incompatible with life in the body, that so long as a man is in the flesh he cannot escape the commission of *himsa* in some form or other as the very process of our physical existence involves *himsa.* How then can ahimsa be the highest virtue, the supreme duty? Would you set forth as the highest religious ideal a code of conduct which is altogether impossible of being fulfilled in its completeness by man? And if you do, what would be the practical worth of such an ideal?

My humble submission is that, contrary to what this writer says, the very virtue of a religious ideal lies in the fact that it cannot be completely realized in the flesh. For a religious ideal must be proved by faith and how can faith have play if perfection could be attained by the spirit while it was still surrounded by its "earthly vesture of decay"? Where would there be scope for its infinite expansion which is its essential characteristic? Where would be room for that constant striving, that ceaseless quest after the ideal that is the basis of all spiritual progress, if mortals could reach the perfect state while still in the body? If such easy perfection in the body was possible all we would have to do would

be simply to follow a cut-and-dry model. Similarly if a perfect code of conduct were possible for all there would be no room for a diversity of faiths and religions because there would be only one standard religion which everybody would have to follow.

The virtue of an ideal consists in its boundlessness. But although religious ideals must thus from their very nature remain unattainable by imperfect human beings, although by virtue of their boundlessness they may seem ever to recede farther away from us, the nearer we go to them, still they are closer to us than our very hands and feet because we are more certain of their reality and truth than even of our own physical being. This faith in one's ideals alone constitutes true life, in fact it is man's all in all.

Blessed is the man who can perceive the law of ahimsa in the midst of the raging fire of *himsa* all around him. We bow in reverence before such a man; he lays the whole world under debt by his example. The more adverse the circumstances around him, the intenser grows his longing for deliverance from the bondage of flesh which is a vehicle of *himsa* and beckons him on to that blessed state which in the words of the poet,

> Even the Great Masters saw only in a trance
> Which even their tongue could not declare,

a state in which the will to live is completely overcome by the ever active desire to realize the ideal of ahimsa and all attachment to the body ceasing man is freed from the further necessity of possessing an earthly tabernacle. But so long as that consummation is not reached a man must go on paying the toll of *himsa*, for *himsa* is inseparable from all physical existence and it will have its due.

Young India, 22-11-1928

83. IN QUEST OF REST

As already published in the newspapers, I hope to reach the Wardha Satyagraha Ashram not on the 15th but on or about the 25th of this month. I do not, however, expect to do anything there in addition to carrying out my daily routine. As I wish to get as much rest as possible, no one should expect an interview with me there or request me to make speeches. In view of the present state of my health I shall hardly be able to complete in my spare hours the amount of work that I am taking with me

to Wardha. I would request all kindly to bear in mind this appeal of mine.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1928

84. THE LION OF THE PUNJAB SLEEPS

As the pages of *Navajivan* were going to the printing machine on Saturday, the following telegram was received from Lala Lajpat Rai's son: "Following a heart attack this morning, Lalaji has fallen asleep." Lalaji's death means the dissolution of a great planet from India's solar system. Lalaji was the lion of the Punjab, a brave son of India, a true public servant and a true patriot. It is well-nigh impossible to make a precise assessment of Lalaji's services of half a century. At this critical juncture for India, Lalaji's loss is irreparable. Despite this, I would request the people not to be overcome with grief but rather to imbibe his great virtues—his courage, sacrifice, forbearance, generosity, bravery and patriotism, and make a superhuman effort to secure that swaraj for which he lived and died. Blessed indeed is the country which gave birth to such a gem of a son as Lalaji. May God grant peace to his soul and fortitude to his family. The whole of India shares their sorrow.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1928

85. MISUNDERSTANDING

A misunderstanding seems to be afloat in Ahmedabad that a deputation consisting of gentlemen belonging to the pinjrapole had come to reason with me regarding calves and monkeys. This is not a fact. The truth of the matter is that I had asked them to see me in connection with the pinjrapole and the nuisance of dogs. They had kindly come over and while they were with me, I told them of my dilemma in regard to the killing of calves and about monkeys and this led to a pleasant little conversation between us.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1928

86. *DIFFICULTIES OF A BOY*

A lad of sixteen and a half writes:[1]

Many young men must be in such a pitiable plight. What a denial of freedom that they cannot even get letters addressed to them? I do not believe that parents do any good to their sons and daughters who have reached the age of sixteen by imposing such restrictions upon them for keeping a watch upon their activities in this manner. Such young people who have not still outgrown their cradles cannot, it is clear, worship the Goddess of Independence. Those who live in such a deplorable condition cannot by themselves understand the nature of their dharma. Dharma is not something that can be practised simply by imitating others. It implies supreme effort on the part of oneself.

Where the environment is so weak, what advice can I give the youth, except to offer civil disobedience? If this young man has courage, he will courteously point out his dharma to his mother. If the mother forbids him to go to a national school, he may not do so but he should at least never go where the atmosphere is unhealthy. He should sit at home and practise whatever trade he can; he may spin, card or sew; he can buy a few carpenter's tools and practise carpentry; he can read good books and reflect upon them, he can find out the essence of these, he can read to his mother all about Prahlad from the *Bhagavata*, he can go out for walks daily, do exercise and create a pure and fearless atmosphere around his physical and mental self.

A boy of sixteen and a half should never lead the life of a householder. Hence he should politely tell his mother that, until he is twenty-one or twenty-five, she should give up the idea of his living with his wife. If this young man and others like him in a like situation inform their parents of their worthy resolve and at the same time are not disrespectful towards the latter and serve them, they will improve themselves, the parents too will learn a new lesson and the country and dharma will thereby benefit.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The boy had written that he had been married at the age of sixteen. His elder brother took him to the pictures and gave him cheap novels to read. As a result, he had bad dreams, and became weak in body. Reading a book *Better Path or Moral Destruction* helped him to cure to some extent. He wanted to attend a national school, but his mother would not hear of it because untouchable boys also went to it.

This young man seems to know that human effort by itself is futile. Nothing can be achieved without God's grace. Not a blade moves without His will. This is something that can be perceived directly. Hence those young men who wish to make this effort must realize its limitations and pray to God every day with unflinching faith regarding their worthy resolves. They may well pray to God as Rama or as Krishna or by any other name that is familiar or dear to them.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-11-1928

87. I HAVE NOT DONE ANY KILLING

A gentleman writes:[1]

I have not read this Jain newspaper. However, if any gentleman who had come to see me has written as above, it is, indeed, a matter of regret. Moreover, it is for me a matter of even greater regret if anyone believes such a story after my denial in *Navajivan*.[2] The four gentlemen should have realized that I who have on certain occasions advocated the killing of monkeys could not conceivably hide the fact had I killed some. However, who can shut the mouths or stop the pens of those who are bent on speaking or writing ill of others? I repeat here that nowhere in the Ashram, or on behalf of the Ashram, have monkeys been killed, beaten or injured. There is no doubt in my mind regarding this matter of killing of monkeys or employing others to kill them, as there is still a strict ban on it. I cannot say the same with such certainty about injuring them, because bows and arrows have been used for a day or two and catapults are still being used. As soon as I realized the possibility of a serious injury resulting from the use of bows and arrows, their use was, as I have already written, discontinued. The catapult is still being employed now but I find that the monkeys merely play with it. Nevertheless, I believe that at times it may certainly cause an injury. I do not know, however, of a single instance in which a monkey has been injured in the Ashram as a result of the use of either of these weapons. The killing of monkeys is something that I do

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to a report in a Jain newspaper that four Jains had seen monkeys killed by Gandhiji despite the latter's assertion to the contrary in *Navajivan*.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 314, 340 and 409.

not contemplate doing in future either. I know that it involves violence. Hence I shall think again and again before indulging in such an extreme act of violence and I shall also try to find out as many ways as I can of sparing myself that form of violence. Despite this, I can give the assurance that the world will certainly come to know, if ever an occasion arises in my life, when I employ violence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-11-1928

88. *ANTYAJAS OF KARACHI*

One of the good results of the discussion that took place recently in the Karachi Municipality on the question of khadi is that the President of the Sweepers' Union has now sent me the text of a resolution passed by the Sweepers' Union. It runs as follows:[1]

When this resolution was sent to me for publication, the question arose in my mind whether it was passed with understanding by a large number of *Antyaja* brothers or whether it had been passed for the sake of appearances alone by a handful of them getting together. Moreover, as sweepers were regarded as farmers, the question also arose whether there was any truth in it or was it done for the sake of prestige. So I enquired through the secretary and received the following reply[2]:

This clarification enhances the importance of the above resolution. And whenever similar resolutions are passed in such associations, their value increases when this is done with understanding and after due deliberation. Because, if such resolutions are passed without proper understanding or if those who pass them or frame them do so for the sake of demonstration, not only do they lose their impact with the passage of time but they are also harmful. Nowadays many such resolutions are passed merely for outward show. I, therefore, felt the need to exercise the above caution. I hope that the *Antyaja* brothers will act ac-

[1] For the text, *vide* "Notes", 15-11-1928, sub-title, "Karachi Sweepers".

[2] Not translated here. The secretary of the Antyaja Sangh had informed Gandhiji that sweepers had been regarded as farmers because farming was their original profession and that, although the resolution was passed by the managing committee, it had been explained to the general body and in any case the importance of khadi was being constantly explained to the *Antyajas*.

cording to the resolution that they have adopted. And if they do so, both they and the country will benefit. It is not enough if they wear khadi when working in the municipality, but if they have the feelings for khadi which they have expressed in the resolution, they will give place to khadi alone even in their homes. It is the task of the Antyaja Sangh to see that durable and cheap khadi is made available. Recently in Mysore, a khadi co-operative association has been set up, and such associations can have within them a khadi store on a co-operative basis and obtain khadi at much cheaper rates. Or, one can also follow the practice adopted in Madras where people are able to get khadi at cheaper rates by the system of chits. There is a saying in English: "Where there is a will there is a way." The truth of this has been proved by experience. Our Bhangi brothers and their leaders can take to heart this saying.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-11-1928

89. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

November 18, 1928

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I got your telegram. I am not interested in expression of regret. I have received several telegrams from the Punjab and some friends are coming from there for consultations. Rest assured that I shall do all that is necessary.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 7511. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

90. SPEECH AT CONDOLENCE MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

[*November 18, 1928*][2]

My position is somewhat awkward. My relationship with Lalaji had become so close that just as one feels embarrassed to praise some friend, comrade or brother, I too feel awkward to praise him today. Even so, I feel that I should say a few words. I first met Lalaji in 1914 in England; then his love for the country left a deep impression on me. Although I had heard of him earlier through newspapers, since I always have little faith in them I did not straightway take their reports as true. When he returned to India in 1920, he was elected President of the Indian National Congress. Since then I came into close contact with him. There was a difference of opinion between us at the Calcutta Congress, but that did not affect our relations at all. How could it, when Lalaji concealed nothing in his heart and expressed everything frankly? Young people have to draw a lesson from Lalaji's life. He has left a will. In a message only fifteen days ago, he had said that he had only a few days more to live, that he had grown old and that he did not want to take much part in the agitation concerning the attack on him. That was the work of young people and they should do it.

Lalaji chanted the *mantra* of swaraj for fifty years. Youths should take up his work of swaraj. In the work of winning swaraj, Lalaji neither enjoyed peace and happiness himself nor did he allow others to do so. In his time it was not fashionable to go to jail or to undergo a sentence of transportation. At that time there was no fearlessness about going to jail as there is today. I was not in India when Lalaji was exiled from the country. He betrayed no weakness during or after his exile. We must observe the dharma which Lalaji has laid down in his will. Various suggestions will be made to make Lalaji's memorial a lasting one. All will be in vain if there is not one about winning swaraj. Winning swaraj is the true memorial to Lalaji.

In the resolution Lalaji has been mentioned as the guardian of the poor and there is significance in it. His heart melted wherever he saw misery. His language was certainly strong, but

[1] On the bank of Sabarmati

[2] From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 19-11-1928

there was no contempt in it. Lalaji's heart was full of universal love. He concealed nothing from the people, why should he conceal anything from his co-workers? Lalaji was such a kind-hearted person that his heart melted if he saw anyone unhappy either in India or abroad. He did not have the slightest enmity towards the Muslims. It was his innermost desire that the Hindus and the Muslims should live as brothers. He wanted that in India there should be neither Hindu rule nor Muslim rule but a rule of all the people. Lalaji's life began with religious activity and social reforms but he felt that as long as India did not get independence, nothing could be done about religious or social reforms. Like Lokamanya Tilak, he was compelled to plunge into politics.

The duty of everyone — young and old — is to free the country from the yoke of dependence. If we do not make our contribution in shouldering that burden, praising Lalaji would only amount to imitating bards and minstrels. He went on working for swaraj single-mindedly for fifty years without ever getting disappointed. Till the last days of his life, he kept on thinking about swaraj. May God give us the strength to achieve the object for which he expended his whole life.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 25-11-1928

91. TELEGRAM TO SATYAPAL[1]

November 19, 1928

SATYAPAL

YOUR WIRE. WOULD LIKE YOU OMIT FEEDING POOR.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13326

[1] In reply to his telegram dated November 19, 1928, which read: "Provincial Congress requests Doctor Ansari to announce twenty-ninth November Kriya Day of Lala Lajpat Rai to be observed by whole of India as Lajpat Rai Day and to observe following programme. Morning prayer meetings evening procession and public meeting feeding of poor. Please support this in Press."

92. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*November 19, 1928*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Too busy to say much. Though I disagree with you in your estimate of the people here, I should be entirely satisfied for you to choose a place in Bihar to work in. The people of Bihar are certainly among the most attractive on earth. The Austrian friends left today.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Your next letter should be to Wardha. I leave here on Friday, reaching there Saturday afternoon.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT, MUZAFFARPUR, BIHAR

From the original: G.N. 8213; also C.W. 5323. Courtesy: Mirabehn

93. AWARD ON THE LABOUR UNION SUBSCRIPTION[2]

AHMEDABAD,
November 21, 1928

The Labour Union shall supply each mill with a list of its members working in the mills and the subscription at the rates prescribed by the Union shall be collected on all pay days from all working people included in the list. In case a dispute regarding the fact of membership or resignation of a member in the mill is not settled between the Labour Union and the mill and regarding which the Mill-owners' Association and the Labour Union also do not come to an amicable settlement, the matter shall be submitted to arbitration and the subscription shall continue to be

[1] From the postmark

[2] The Arbitration Board consisting of Mahatma Gandhi and Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas gave the award in the dispute submitted to them for settlement by the Mill-owners' Association and the Labour Union regarding collection of subscription of members of the Labour Union.

collected and paid to the Labour Union till the final settlement. The Union shall refund the subscription of any operative in respect of whom it is proved that he was not a member at the time of collection. The arbitrators hold that the current practice in the matter of collection of subscription involves the possibility of indiscipline. The arbitrators, therefore, urge that the formation of a Labour Union must have the fullest support of mill-owners and there should be no subscription of any sort.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-11-1928

94. LONG LIVE LALAJI[1]

Lala Lajpat Rai is dead. Long live Lalaji. Men like Lalaji cannot die so long as the sun shines in the Indian sky. Lalaji means an institution. From his youth he made of his country's service a religion. And his patriotism was no narrow creed. He loved his country because he loved the world. His nationalism was international. Hence his hold on the European mind. He claimed a large circle of friends in Europe and America. They loved him because they knew him.

His activities were multifarious. He was an ardent social and religious reformer. Like many of us he became a politician because his zeal for social and religious reform demanded participation in politics. He observed at an early stage of his public career that much reform of the type he wanted was not possible until the country was freed from foreign domination. It appeared to him, as to most of us, as a poison corrupting every department of life.

It is impossible to think of a single public movement in which Lalaji was not to be found. His love of service was insatiable. He founded educational institutions; he befriended the suppressed classes; poverty wherever found claimed his attention. He surrounded young men with extraordinary affection. No young man appealed to him in vain for help. In the political field he was indispensable. He was fearless in the expression of his views. He suffered for it when suffering had not become customary or fashionable. His life was an open book. His extreme frankness often embarrassed his friends, if it also confounded his critics. But he was incorrigible.

[1] An article by Gandhiji on the same subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-11-1928.

With all deference to my Mussalman friends, I assert that he was no enemy of Islam. His desire to strengthen and purify Hinduism must not be confounded with hatred of Mussalmans or Islam. He was sincerely desirous of promoting and achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. He wanted not Hindu Raj but he passionately wanted Indian Raj; he wanted all who called themselves Indians to have absolute equality. I wish that Lalaji's death would teach us to trust one another. And we could easily do this if we could but shed fear.

There will be, as there must be, a demand for a national memorial. In my humble opinion no memorial can be complete without a definite determination to achieve the freedom for which he lived and died so nobly. Let us recall what has after all proved to be his last will. He has bequeathed to the younger generation the task of vindicating India's freedom and honour. Will they prove worthy of the trust he reposed in them? Shall we the older survivors — men and women — deserve to have had Lalaji as a countryman, by making a fresh, united, supreme effort to realize the dream of a long line of patriots in which Lalaji was so distinguished a member?

Nor may we forget the Servants-of People Society which he founded for the promotion of his many activities, all designed for the advancement of the country. His ambition in respect of the Society was very high. He wanted a number of young men all over India to join together in a common cause and work with one will. The Society is an infant not many years old. He had hardly time enough to consolidate this great work of his. It is a national trust requiring the nation's care and attention.

Young India, 22-11-1928

95. *CONDOLENCES FROM OVERSEAS*

'Anavil Yuvaks' send me the following message from Port Louis Mauritius:

> Deeply regret Lalaji's death. Irreparable loss national cause. Tender heartfelt condolence bereaved family.

Transvaal Khatri Mandal, Johannesburg, sends the following:

> Khatri community deeply mourns death great patriot Lalaji. Kindly convey message condolence to bereaved family.

Patidar Society, Johannesburg, cables:

Patidar community mourns death great patriot Lala Lajpatrai. Kindly convey Society's condolence to bereaved family.

Young India, 22-11-1928

96. AJMAL JAMIA FUND

I know that this Fund has to work under a heavy handicap. It has to cut its way through the hard rock of prejudice. Why should a Hindu pay to perpetuate the memory of a Mussalman and for a fund principally devoted to a Muslim cause will be the argument of many a *kattar*[1] Hindu in these times of mutual hate. Why should a Mussalman subscribe to a fund in memory of one who was pro-Hindu and for an institution partly supported by the idolatrous Hindu will be the argument of a *kattar* Mussalman against supporting the Fund. In spite, however, of this double handicap I must continue to ask for subscriptions for this memorial. The constitution of the Jamia Millia has undergone a radical and desirable change and is placed on a better footing. And I am happy to be able to announce the subscription for this fund of Rs. 10,000 already paid up from a Hindu friend whose trust, I confess, is largely based on my own. I know no other way of promoting nationalism, toleration and friendliness except by trusting and hoping in spite of appearances to the contrary. It matters little that one may have been deceived before or may have built hope on a paper foundation. Hope to be worth anything must "spring eternal in the human breast". Trust can have no limits. It must always give the benefit of the doubt. It is better to suffer a million disappointments than not to have trusted where mistrust was a mistake. A man who permits himself to be deceived is never the loser. Indeed he is the gainer in the end, not the so-called successful deceiver. A thousand deceits would leave me unrepentant. My personal experience is that in spite of some very hard knocks which I can recall at the time of writing, I have no cause to regret the trustful nature with which the world around me has credited me. It is my conviction that I and those whom I have involved in my trustfulness have lost nothing, if we cannot prove to have always gained. A man loses only when he loses his soul and that can never be lost through another man's deceit.

Young India, 22-11-1928

[1] Diehard

97. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

AHMEDABAD,
November 22, 1928

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA PARK, CALCUTTA

LEAVING FOR WARDHA TOMORROW MORNING. EXPECT YOUR AND MALAVIYAJI'S REPLY NOW WARDHA. IN VIEW THIS CALAMITY[1] WOULD LIKE YOU HASTEN YOUR COMING WARDHA IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 7879. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

98. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday [November 22, 1928][2]

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Your letter. Your decision to have khadi as the hub and impart education through khadi is very much to my liking. If I get from you any khadi news of public interest I shall certainly publish it in *Navajivan*.[3]

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 754

[1] The passing away of Lajpat Rai

[2] Gandhiji left Sabarmati Ashram on November 23, 1928. Thursday fell on November 22.

[3] A report sent by Moolchand Agrawal regarding the progress of khadi in Rajasthan was published in *Young India*, 29-8-1929, under the title "Self-spinning in Rajputana". A similar report was later published in *Hindi Navajivan* too.

99. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

November 23, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

Chi. Santok[1] cannot at present live according to the rule of Rs. 12 which I have suggested, and so she has decided with Chi. Radha[2] and Chi. Rukhi[3] to live permanently in Rajkot. She says that they will need Rs. 60 every month in Rajkot. Though I think this figure exorbitant, I do not wish to hurt her and have therefore agreed to let her have it. While thinking about the matter last night, I felt that the most straightforward course was to treat this sum as pension and pay it from the Ashram account.

I am hoping that Chi. Santok and the girls will be able to bring down this sum to a lower figure.

I hesitated to come to this decision and it has even pained me. At the moment I console myself with the hope that one day they will sincerely accept the ideals of the Ashram and come and live in it.

This case should be treated as an exception. The reasons why I have come to this decision in regard to Chi. Santok are plain. We cannot, therefore, regard this case as a precedent to go by and make similar arrangements in future for other families. Others can get maintenance from the Ashram only if they live in it.

The sum in question should be paid from month to month till I decide otherwise. After my death, the Managing Committee may consult Jamnalalji and change the decision if it so wishes.

Chi. Santok will be staying in the Ashram for ten days more. If during this period she asks for anything else, please consult me. My understanding is that she cannot ask for anything beside what is agreed.

Send one copy of this to me and give one to Chi. Santok.

It will be enough if you pay the sum to Chi. Narandas every month.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 8-9

[1] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

[2] & [3] Daughters of Maganlal Gandhi

100. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*November 23, 1928*][1]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. The money asked for by Chhaganlal and intended for the women may be sent out of Women's Fund. Other help required for Orissa may be sent out of the Famine [Relief] Fund with Vallabhbhai and the small balance in the Orissa account lying in the Ashram.

Write to Vallabhbhai. It should be possible to meet Chhaganlal's demand from the Fund with him, since the work which Chhaganlal is doing is all famine relief work. Shri Vithalbhai has written to me and told me that we can draw more from the money he has contributed to the Famine [Relief] Fund. If there is any difficulty in this, pay from our funds.

Pay from the Ashram funds, in addition to Rs. 12, expenses for four students. See Krishnamaiyadevi[2]. Do not omit to do this through oversight.

I wrote to Shardabehn and told her to leave the Ashram in certain circumstances. The letter you have sent is not a reply to my letter. I should certainly be happy if she feels sincerely disinterested in worldly things.

I have been consuming five *tolas* of linseed oil. I shall be able to eat less from today since I have started mixing some almond oil with milk. I do not worry about the taste at all. Nor is it that the oil does not suit me. But I have not been able to gain weight with oil and *rotli* only, and so from today I have added almonds and fruit. If you require linseed oil, please write to me so that I may send fresh supply from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 9-10

[1] As in the source

[2] Widow of a Congress worker from Nepal to whom Gandhiji had given shelter in the Ashram along with her son and four daughters.

101. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Friday [November 23, 1928][1]

BHAI CHHAGANLAL,

I forgot to write about one thing. Call in Dr. Talwalkar or Dr. Kanuga to examine Kashi[2]. I am afraid she has got dysentery. If that is so, she will have to be given injections of ipecacuanha. Place this suggestion of mine before the doctor whom you call in.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 10

102. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SURAT,
November 23, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Read the accompanying letter and hand it over to Parnerkar. After careful thought but with firm decision take whatever steps seem necessary in regard to Jethalal.

Gangadevi has asked for sewing work; give it to her. If nothing else, let her make caps of all sizes and covers of large pillows. I will sell them. If I cannot easily find customers for them, then let her make, if she knows how to, large handkerchiefs with borders, and as many as she can.

When Champabehn arrives there, get her to work with Gangadevi. I am sure you have arranged for someone to sleep near the women's wing. Look after Harasukhrai and also give me news of him from time to time.

I trust you have made the required arrangements for Amina[3].

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] As in the source
[2] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi
[3] Daughter of Abdul Kadir Bavazeer

[PS.]

Do everything with complete faith and the utmost courage. The burden of winning over Narandas lies on you. Do not think that it is a difficult task.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 10-1

103. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Friday, November 23, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I felt unhappy when leaving you. You are bearing with great courage the burden which has fallen on you, but I see all the same that it has disturbed your equanimity a little. The *Gita*, however, teaches us that we should in no case lose our equanimity.

You may certainly take any quantity of milk that is necessary for your health. Do not feel that you are doing anything wrong in that.

I have left Kusum[1] there. Make her work. She works methodically. You will not at all find it difficult to mix with her freely. Keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 15

104. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

November 23, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

You should understand that I shall always be where my work calls me.

One should accept as they are the rules and conditions for membership of an organization or an institution. If we live as members of an organization, it becomes necessary for us to obtain

[1] Widow of Haribhai Desai who was Gandhiji's secretary during the early days of Satyagraha Ashram

the permission of others for doing a number of things. Freedom does not mean licence, nor does it mean being dependent on one individual only.

Anyone who lives in a community should submit to its restrictions. This is what an institution means. Anything different from this means the rule of one person. I wish that you should reflect and understand the meaning of this, compose yourself and be devoted to your duty.

Take proper care of your health.

Cultivate friendship with everyone.

Give complete satisfaction to others in regard to Manu, by working in the Bal Mandir and, if you find it congenial to do so, in the kitchen.

Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1853

105. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Friday, November 23, 1928

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I can understand your misery. Physical separation will however always be there. Shake off anxiety and be firm and devoted to your duty.

Keep writing to me. Go to Dwarka only if you want to, otherwise don't.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3343

106. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

[After *November 23, 1928*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Work as much as you wish to but don't let it tell on your health. Never grieve over separation. We will always be confronted with the separation from loved ones. "What is unavoidable, thou shouldst not regret."[2] If you don't understand the meaning of this verse ask Chi. Purushottam. It is from the *Gita*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3325

107. *MESSAGE TO KHADI WORKERS, AMALNER*[3]

[After *November 23, 1928*][4]

Gandhiji after asking a few questions about the details of their work and emphasizing the necessity of self-carding, said to them.

Our scriptures say that not to begin any enterprise is the first degree of wisdom but it is folly to give it up after having commenced it. Now that you have commenced your project after due deliberation I hope you will see it through.

Young India, 13-12-1928

[1] From the reference to "separation" in this and the preceding letter

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 27; quoted in Sanskrit in the source.

[3] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter" which explained the work of the Samarth Udyoga Mandir, Mukti (W. Khandesh), thus: "They are trying to organize khadi production on what is known as the 'integrated system'. The underlying idea is to develop the internal economics of hand-spinning and hand-weaving by assembling as many processes of cloth manufacture as possible under the same roof to be performed as far as possible by the same family. The system has been tried with great success at Bijolia and would mark a new era in the development of khadi organization if it could be successfully introduced elsewhere too."

[4] Gandhiji left Sabarmati on November 23, 1928, and reached Wardha on November 24.

108. DISCUSSION WITH SHANKARRAO DEV[1]

[After *November 23, 1928*]

I have no doubt about it, there are more actual spinners and more genuine khadi wearers in India today than there were in the "white cap" days of 1920-21, and as for organized khadi production it has grown by tenfold at least. But the thing is, we do not see the wood for the trees. Otherwise, where is there another organization in India which is functioning in nearly 2,000 villages as the A.I.S.A. is doing? It is a compact body, it has influence over the masses because it has established a living contact with them. But the khadi worker must bide his time. His faith is on trial today. He must refuse to be diverted from his purpose by exciting politics. I have no doubt that the country will remember this perennial source of strength at no distant date. See how one leader after another turns to it for consolation in the darkness of despair. Deshbandhu Das remembered it and declared his faith in it a week before his death, and when a damp fell around the path of Lalaji he too turned to it for strength. You know how he told Mahadev at Simla that he had become a complete convert to khadi and was learning how to spin? I have no doubt that in its hour of darkness it will be khadi alone that will come to the nation's rescue.

Young India, 13-12-1928

109. REPLY TO MARWARI DEPUTATION, WARDHA[2]

[After *November 24, 1928*]

Gandhiji: Is your objection religious and fundamental or is it on the score of social tradition?

We are no learned pundits, our objection is based on the latter ground.

In that case you should bear with Shethji. If you objected to Shethji's dining with such 'untouchables' as were addicted to

[1] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter"; Shankarrao Dev travelled with Gandhiji as far as Jalgaon and the discussion turned on the theme "Is khadi really making headway?"

[2] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter" under the sub-title "At Grips with Orthodoxy", which explained that Jamnalal Bajaj had caused a flutter in the

drink or led unclean lives I could understand you, but for lack of moral courage to hold that food is polluted by the mere touch of one born in a so-called untouchable family, though otherwise he may be a pure and righteous man, is a negation of religion. I admit that social tradition should be respected when it is meant for the protection of society even though personally one may not feel any need for following it, but to respect a tradition even when it becomes tyrannous spells not life but death and it should be discarded.

Jamnalalji has chosen a wider field of service. He cannot exclusively identify himself with any particular community. The world is his family and he can serve his community only through the service of humanity. So let Jamnalalji go his way. One can overcome opposition only by love, untruth by truth, not by compromising truth. See the state of society we are living in, it is full of falsehood, hypocrisy, hatred. Our *panchas* should be the Gangotri[1] of our society. But today they have become corrupt. What would be left of the sacredness of the Ganges if its stream were polluted at the very source? Let us therefore try to purify our *panchas*, by doing penance, by suffering for right's sake. That is what Jamnalalji is doing. You should give him your blessings even if you cannot follow him. For, a day will come when not only you but even the orthodox section will recognize that by his action Jamnalalji rendered the truest service to Hinduism and the future generation will thank him for it.[2]

Young India, 13-12-1928

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orthodox Marwari community by throwing open the Lakshminarayan temple at Wardha to the so-called untouchables for which he was excommunicated by the diehard section of his community. The excommunication had left him altogether unrepentant and he had gone a step further by partaking food cooked by the so-called untouchable boys recently at Rewari. It was to understand Gandhiji's views that a deputation of Agrawal Marwaris waited upon him.

[1] Source of the Ganga in the Himalayas

[2] Also published in *Navajivan*, 16-12-1928

110. INFLUENCE OF MUSIC[1]

A student of the Gujarat Vidyapith asks:

What has been the influence of music on your life?

Music has given me peace. I can remember occasions when music instantly tranquillized my mind when I was greatly agitated over something. Music has helped me to overcome anger. I can recall occasions when a hymn sank deep into me though the same thing expressed in prose had failed to touch me. I also found that the meaning of hymns discordantly sung has failed to come home to me and that it burns itself on my mind when they have been properly sung. When I hear *Gita* verses melodiously recited I never grow weary of hearing and the more I hear the deeper sinks the meaning into my heart. Melodious recitations of the *Ramayana* which I heard in my childhood left on me an impression which years have not obliterated or weakened. I distinctly remember how when once the hymn "The path of the Lord is meant for the brave, not the coward" was sung to me in an extraordinarily sweet tune, it moved me as it had never before. In 1907 while in the Transvaal I was almost fatally assaulted, the pain of the wounds was relieved when at my instance Olive Doke gently sang to me "Lead Kindly Light".

Let no one infer from this that I know music. On the contrary it would be more correct to say that my knowledge of music is very elementary. I cannot critically judge music. All I can claim is that I have a natural ear for good homely music.

I do not mean to suggest either that because the influence of music has been uniformly good on me it must act similarly on others. On the contrary I know that many people employ music to feed their carnal passions. To sum up, therefore, we may say that the influence of music will differ according to temperaments. As Tulsidas has sung:

> The Lord of Creation created everything in this world as an admixture of good and evil. But a good man selects the good and rejects the evil even as the fabled swan is said to help himself to cream leaving the water in the milk.

Young India, 10-1-1929

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-11-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

111. *MY NOTES*

Plan for Cattle Development

An experienced *gosevak*[1] from Kathiawar writes:[2]

This scheme is good and deserves to be put into practice. However, if indeed I had the capacity for inspiring people which this correspondent imagines that I have, I would convert all the States of Kathiawar into places for serving the cow ideally. But, like the people, the States too do not like the constructive work very much. Moreover, such tasks could be easily accomplished if the States were not eager to accumulate wealth, if they opposed cruel customs and cultivated public opinion. Students should be given such problems to study in national schools. Such problems will be solved with less difficulty when the educated classes come into contact with villages.

A Cruel Custom

A gentleman from Visavadar writes:[3]

I must admit my ignorance of the practice mentioned in this letter. It is clear that this practice should be ended wherever it is prevalent. Our superstitions have been added to our ignorance of cattle-rearing and hence our task has become doubly difficult. There are wise men in every village. They do not have the leisure to examine minutely the question of how the people can be made happy. They know that the task of increasing the cattle wealth is not one which brings in huge profits but one which at the outset entails a large expenditure. Hence who can create an interest in it? Nevertheless, the above-mentioned scheme deserves consideration at the hands both of the ruler and the ruled. Hence after keeping it in my files for many months, I venture to publish it in the columns of *Navajivan* today.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-11-1928

[1] Worker for cow-protection

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested a scheme for preservation of milch cattle including cows and buffaloes, and wanted Gandhiji to persuade one or two States to take up this work of scientific cattle-rearing and set an example for others to follow.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the custom of a weak male calf being branded and driven away.

112. TELEGRAM TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

Express

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 25, 1928

DR. ANSARI
PALACE, BHOPAL

PROPOSE ISSUING LALAJI MEMORIAL APPEAL[1] OVER YOUR SIGNATURE MALAVIYAJI'S AND GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA'S AS SECRETARY TREASURER. APPEAL WILL BE FOR FUNDS TO BE DEVOTED TO ADVANCEMENT LALAJI'S POLITICAL WORK. YOU THREE WILL CONSTITUTE TRUSTEES WITH AUTHORITY DETERMINE EXACT USE FUNDS. PRAY WIRE WARDHA. AUTHORITY ATTACH YOUR SIGNATURE APPEAL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13339

113. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

WARDHAGANJ,
November 26, 1928

MIRABAI
KHADI BHANDAR, MUZAFFARPUR

YOUR LETTERS. YOU MAY COME. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: G.N. 8216; also C.W. 5326. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] *Vide* "Apeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund", 26-11-1928.

114. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. C. ROY

[*November 26, 1928*][1]

DR. BIDHAN
36 [WELLINGTON STREET]
CALCUTTA

MOTILALJI WROTE LAST WEEK YOU HAD DECIDED ACCEPT MY VIEW ABOUT EXHIBITION. HEARD NOTHING FROM YOU. WIRE REPLY[2] WARDHA.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13319

115. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

WARDHA,
November 26, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I experienced no difficulty at all in the third class. There was no crowding in the trains during any part of the journey. All of us could sleep for the whole night. Other passengers vacated their seats for us. Since, however, the compartment was never crowded, they suffered no inconvenience because of us. I was extremely happy. In first and second classes I always feel like one imprisoned, besides feeling guilty. I felt happy within and at least thirty rupees were saved for the poor.

As it was my wish that this time I would join in all the Ashram activities here, I had all the three meals of the day in the company of the other Ashram inmates and ate the food served to me, which was the same as what they had. Here after the midday meal everyone helps in cleaning the grains. I too joined in this work. Ghanshyamdas Birla has come here and

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 27-11-1928; *vide* also "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 28-11-1928.

[2] The reply dated November 28, 1928 read: "Your wire. Reception Committee meeting tonight. Hope that after mill textiles are banned you and A.I.S.A. will take part in Exhibition. Kindly wire your ideas."

he too joined. Wonderful peace prevails here at mealtime and when people are working.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 11-2

116. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

WARDHA,
Silence Day, November 26, 1928

DEAR SISTERS,

We reached Jalgaon an hour late. Consequently we missed the connecting train and reached Wardha late.

I may at once draw your attention to one thing I see here. I am, of course, dining in the Ashram kitchen here. By now I have had three meals; there was an utter absence of all noise. It was perfectly quiet and I thought at that time of the loud din in our Ashram kitchen. There was no noise here of clattering vessels or of people talking. Of course, in our Ashram we have children, while here there are none. That does make some difference, and yet you can teach children not to make noise and you yourselves can withstand the temptation of talking. That we cannot put a stop to the noise in our kitchen is one of our great failings.

I keenly feel the separation from you, because much remains to be done for getting more work from you. You should complete what remains unfinished.

Of course you understand your duties. The kitchen, Bal Mandir (kindergarten) and prayers are even now going on; if you undertake any other responsibility besides these, never give it up out of a sense of failure. To become fit for it the most necessary condition of all is this:

Whatever work you once undertake, carry it out fully, never give up what you have offered to do. If you have to be absent, then make some arrangement for your work; and if no arrangement can be made, do not leave it and go.

Keep ever cheerful; be calm; and make it a point to carry on your share of all the activities of the Ashram equally with men, and as well as men. This is not at all beyond your capacity. You need only desire it, and strive for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

Letters to Ashram Sisters, pp. 61-2

117. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [*November 26, 1928*]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Do you expect a letter from me by every post? What a girl! Well, I shall try to write.

All the news about me is in the letter to Ashram women and to the [Udyoga] Mandir.[1] So, I will not write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3324

118. APPEAL FOR LAJPAT RAI MEMORIAL FUND[2]

November 26, 1928

The following appeal has been issued over the signatures of the President of the Congress, Dr. Ansari, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla:

APPEAL FOR FIVE LAKHS

TO THE CITIZENS OF INDIA

It is but meet that there should be a national memorial to the revered memory of a patriot so brave, so great and so self-sacrificing as Lala Lajpat Rai. We the undersigned have therefore taken it upon ourselves to make an appeal to the generous public for funds, which we hope will meet with universal response. If we expect large donations from the rich, we know that Lalaji's spirit would find the greatest solace from the coppers of the poor. We propose to announce later the exact manner in which the funds will be used, but we constitute ourselves as trustees for the funds with power to associate others with us in their administration. We may, however, generally state that we shall use them for the advancement of Lalaji's many political activities to which he so nobly gave the best part of his life. We

[1] *Vide* the preceding two items (Ashrâm was being called Udyoga Mandir).

[2] The appeal was drafted by Gandhiji and cárried corrections in his handwriting; *vide* also "Telegram to Dr. M. A. Ansari", 25-11-1928. The appeal was published in *Young India*, 29-11-1928.

shall naturally bear in mind his great creation and the instrument of his operations—the Servants of the People Society.

We have fixed the sum of Rs. 5,00,000 (five lakhs) as the minimum that a grateful country should give to Lalaji's memory. Regard being had to the bad times through which we are passing, we have chosen the lowest sum consistently with Lalaji's all-India greatness and the cause to which the monies are to be devoted.

Subscriptions should be sent to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla, 8 Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta, who has kindly consented to act as Secretary and Treasurer for the Fund.

M. A. Ansari
Madan Mohan Malaviya
Ghanshyamdas Birla

26th November, 1928

I have seen also the appeal issued by the President of the Congress fixing the 29th instant for observing in memory of the deceased patriot. I heartily endorse both these appeals, and I trust that meetings will be held throughout the country at which subscriptions will be collected in aid of the proposed memorial. Indeed it would be a striking demonstration if a fixed determination was made by all the public workers to finish on the memorial day the collection of five lacs which the distinguished signatories have asked for as the minimum.

I know that the time left for organizing such an effort is short; but where there is one will and one purpose no time is too short. Let the public recall the palmy days of 1920-21 when not five lacs but even 10 lacs were collected in one single day. After all the crore was collected practically in one month. If trusted volunteers will set apart the 29th for this one single item and go out collecting, there should be no difficulty in making up the amount.

Let the collectors remember that they have all to make their return immediately to Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla at the address given in the appeal. If the collectors will send me the names intimating that they have sent the collections to Sjt. Birla, I shall see that the names are duly acknowledged in *Young India*. They are free to send the collections to *Young India* office from which they will be forwarded to the treasurer. If however the task of collecting the full sum in one single day is considered in our present disorganized state to be beyond our capacity let the collection committee prolong the period for collecting their quota.

In the absence of any other rule, I suggest each district or taluk fixing its own quota according to its own population. That is the least that can be done. The fairest way is for each district, taluk or circle to fix its own quota, in no case less than the minimum on the basis of population and to fix its own period within which to finish that collection. I suggest also a resolution at each meeting to do some constructive work in terms of swaraj for which the local workers may be best fitted, provided that there is a determination to carry out that resolution. The memory of the deceased patriot will not suffer if no such resolution is passed, but it will suffer so long as the memory is a trust in our charge if after having passed resolutions we forget all about them.

M. K. GANDHI

From photostats: S.N. 13340 and 13341; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-11-1928

119. OUR DUTY[1]

November 27, 1928

I hope there will be a prompt and whole-hearted response to the appeal which the Congress President, Dr. Ansari, Bharat Bhushan Pandit Malaviya and Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla have made to the people in regard to the Lalaji Memorial. There is an English proverb to the effect that he who gives quickly gives double. There is a similar saying among us: "Prompt charity brings greater spiritual merit." Both these sayings are the result of the experience of wise men of different countries. We have forgotten that saying. Today it is said about us that we always wake up late, that is to say, instead of giving donations or taking action at the right time, we allow time to pass and then become impatient and bewildered and somehow get through charity or work. As a result, this does no credit to us and its value is reduced by half. I hope that this will not happen with regard to this memorial. For a memorial that is to be raised to a popular leader like Lalaji, funds ought to come forth for the asking.

I trust no one will question why there are only three signatories to the appeal. There was difficulty in finding more names and there was a fear that, if time elapsed, the 29th would pass by; moreover, procrastination in such matters is dangerous.

In fact, if the magic is not there in Lalaji's name, the

[1] *Vide* also "Lalaji Memorial", 29-11-1928.

power of three, or even thirty, signatures cannot attract funds. Even great men can get money only for a good cause.

Hence, donors have merely to assure themselves about the safety of their money and its good deployment. From this point of view, nothing could possibly be said against these three persons. Moreover, every donor must rest assured that where a man like Ghanshyamdas Birla is treasurer and secretary, the accounts will be properly kept.

Having thus known the amount needed for the memorial and its guardians, the duty of every patriot and everyone desiring swaraj is clear. Everyone should contribute his share to the Fund according to his capacity. It is my request that the whole sum should be subscribed by the 29th. I am writing this article on the 27th. Though I have said that the entire sum should be subscribed by the 29th, I do not entertain great hopes about it. Hence I write this article assuming that the whole sum has not been collected by the time the reader has this article in his hands and, if my fears prove true, those who have not given their share or who have not got their neighbours to subscribe, should get that money in time and forward it to the treasurer. If anyone wants to subscribe through *Navajivan,* he can do so. His contribution will be acknowledged in *Navajivan* and it will be forwarded to the treasurer.

I hope that every man and woman will contribute his or her share to this Fund. The number of students attending schools and colleges alone is 27,00,000. If all of them donate half the amount of their monthly pocket-money and make a sacrifice of their enjoyments to that extent, they can contribute a huge sum without any effort. It will be more creditable if 5,00,000 men, women, labourers, *Antyajas* and students together donate Rs. 5 lakhs than if five or ten rich men give that amount. It is evident that our strength to win swaraj will grow in proportion to the increase in our capacity to collect big amounts by virtue of the numerical strength of those able to pay only small sums. One need hardly say that the value of Rs. 5 lakhs received from 5 lakhs of men and women is very much greater than the same sum received from a few wealthy persons. Thus we serve two purposes in collecting funds by taking a little from many people. Hence I hope that, keeping this in mind, every volunteer will collect as much as possible from his friends and relatives.

I also hope that our *Antyaja* brethren will not forget this work. Even if they donate copper coins, they will bring credit to the memorial and to themselves. Lalaji commenced his life with ser-

vice of the *Antyajas* and, till the end, he got his followers to do this work. I hope our *Antyaja* brethren will not forget this fact.

I hope no one will waste his time in commenting that if the memorial had some other object in view it would have looked better or brought in more funds. In this world nothing done by man is perfect, and there is always room left for criticism. But it will be considered improper to waste time criticizing a good work that has been commenced, or not to assist it because the memorial does not fall in line with one's ideas. It is the dharma of all those who hold that there should be an all-India memorial to Lalaji and that those who have visualized it and ask for contributions towards it are worthy men, to contribute to the best of their ability and make others do so and only afterwards engage themselves in other national activities.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-12-1928

120. TELEGRAM TO S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1928

APPEAL FOR LALAJI MEMORIAL ISSUED[2] SIGNED BY ANSARI, MALAVIYAJI, BIRLA. PLEASE ORGANIZE COLLECTIONS TWENTYNINTH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13343

121. LETTER TO KISHANCHAND BHATIA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1928

DEAR LALA KISHANCHAND,

Sjt. Banker has sent me a copy of your letter[3] about fixing a Lajpat Rai week for khadi hawking and collections. Nothing would please me better than to do this. But I have not the slightest desire

[1] Identical telegrams were sent also to Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and Jairamdas Daulatram.

[2] *Vide* "Appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund", 26-11-1928.

[3] Dated November 21, 1928

to exploit the great name of Lalaji for khadi or anything else. I can therefore only fix the week if all the members of the Servants of the People Society sincerely desire and feel as Lalaji felt during the recent months that khadi should be the centre of all constructive work in terms of millions. I therefore had not even dreamt about doing anything in the name of Lalaji. But now that you have mentioned it and Dr. Gopichand approves of your suggestion, I discussed it somewhat with Lala Jagannath. You may show this letter to the other members of the Society and if they all sincerely desire the fixing of a week for khadi propaganda and if they will make khadi the central activity in future, I will gladly fix the week. If they have no such faith, I am sure it will be wrong to adopt your proposal. Let khadi wait for the psychological moment which must arrive some day, if even some of those who are now in charge of khadi organizations in various parts of the country have a living faith in khadi are sincere and are devoting all their spare energy to its success.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA KISHANCHAND BHATIA
A. I. S. A., PUNJAB BRANCH
ADAMPUR DOABA (JULLUNDUR)

From a photostat: S.N. 13344

122. *LETTER TO ACHYUTANANDA PUROHIT*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do propose to come to Sambalpur on my way to Calcutta.[2] I hope that you will organize a good khadi demonstration and a good collection for the All-India Spinners' Association.

I am unable just now to fix the exact date, but it will be somewhere near the 20th December and I shall try to give you two days—the day on which I reach there and the next day.

[1] A copy of this was forwarded to the Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, for information with reference to his letter No. 748 of November 24, 1928.

[2] The addressee had requested Gandhiji to visit Sambalpur as it had been left out during the Utkal tour in December 1927.

I remember your telling me how I can reach there, but I shall thank you to let me have the timings again.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ACHYUTANANDA PUROHIT, PLEADER
SAMBALPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13735

123. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1928

DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

I saw your letter to Mahadev. Mahadev is not with me as he had to be in Bardoli with reference to the Bardoli Inquiry. There is no change in my eating periods. Food also almost remains the same. I have cut down the quantity of milk, but no elaborate precautions should be taken to ensure the quantity of goat's milk or fruit. The less expense undergone about personal comfort the better pleased I shall be. Every anna spent on such things is an anna lost to the poor. Let the Sambalpur Committee also know this working of my mind.

I have discovered that the letter I thought I had sent, after all never went to you. I am now trying to have it translated and forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13736

124. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 27, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your two letters. I note what you say about Baidyanathji.

Rajendra Babu did send a reply to the *Chronicle* about Anil Babu's writings. They may not have any effect on your side, but in Bombay they might have some effect, especially as the *Chronicle* gave his contribution a place of honour. But I quite agree

with you that generally all these superfluous writings betraying hostility may be safely ignored.

With me confusion is getting worse confounded with regard to the Exhibition. Motilalji writes to me that the Committee has accepted my view of what an Exhibition should be. But I have heard nothing from Dr. Bidhan. I therefore telegraphed to him yesterday[1] and I am now waiting for his reply. The cutting you sent me is certainly bad.

I am sorry about Krishnadas. Tell him he must be well and strong. When I come to Calcutta I want to see him in good health.

The progress you have made in the common kitchen is quite encouraging.

We have now installed our own bakery in the Ashram. You will remember I talked to you about it. The bread turned out is extremely good and has proved popular and saved much time, labour and fuel. Making chapatis occupied the best part of the time of the workers in the kitchen. Chapatis still remain, but bread has supplemented them with many. All eat bread only for breakfast and the evening meal. For the mid-day meal many still take chapatis.

I hope Hemprabhadevi is keeping well and cheerful. Tarini must really build up his shattered body.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1599

125. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

November 27, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I have both your letters. I was indeed afraid that you would get fever. See that you do not get it again. It would help if you take *chiretta* or Sudarshan powder regularly; or else you may take quinine from time to time and also Kuhne baths. Ba told me today that, after you had recovered, you used to eat cashew nuts. If this is true, it would make me unhappy. I expect you to control your palate. You will be a good girl if you give up the habit of eating things every now and then.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Dr. B. C. Roy", 26-11-1928.

You thought it strange that you had to obtain permission from two or three persons. The Secretary's permission should of course be obtained. But it is also necessary to obtain the permission of the head of the department in which you are working. In a big institution, the Secretary cannot take upon himself the responsibility of granting leave to everyone. The application for leave should be made to him through the head of the department concerned. Anyone who understands his or her responsibility towards the institution will apply for leave only if circumstances are convenient. I did not say all this to you to put you off. I thought you had immediately grasped my point. I am pained to know that you had not, and that you still think that I was putting you off. Now that I tell you that I was not trying to put you off, you will feel surprised and think the procedure rather strange.

Anyone who wants to do all work in love has no choice but to reduce himself or herself to zero. How often have I explained this to you? Love is the utmost depth of humility. Today I stop this discussion here.

Ba is worrying about Manu. Who will help her now to wash and dress her hair and to wash her clothes? She goes on asking these and no end of similar questions. I have told her that I am sure you are looking after these things either by yourself or with somebody's help.

Sarojini Devi must be doing her share of work. Does she remain cheerful?

A handkerchief of mine is left behind there. Prabhavati probably knows where it is. Inquire about it. If you get hold of it, keep it somewhere carefully.

I will not like it if you let your health suffer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1854

126. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

November 27, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I got both your letters. Chi. Santok cannot be given any money for the grain she is returning. That grain and whatever else she has in her possession is the property of the Ashram. Explain this patiently to Chi. Rukhi, etc., or ask Narandas to do that. If truth is combined with love, your decision will always be correct. But do not fail in your duty out of fear of committing mistakes.

The persons who had been working with Narandas are leaving him one by one. Put others in their place, if necessary. It is essential that you two should work in complete harmony. How this can be brought about is for you to consider.

Gangabehn never told me what you write to me concerning . . . behn[1]. I am shocked by what you write. Despite that, however, we should continue to serve her in a disinterested spirit. If Shripatrao stays on, it would be very good indeed. I intend to write about milk tomorrow. I am trying today to secure ghee. So far nothing has been fixed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 12-3

127. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Tuesday [*November 27, 1928*][2]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I don't have time today to write at length. I was very much pained to read about the affair concerning . . . [3] My pain is all superficial, so it has not disturbed me in my work. All the same, the thing fills me with anguish. I have written a letter to him. Probably he will show it to you.

[1] & [3] The names are omitted in the source.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

More in the next letter.

You should not lose courage. Acquit yourself well in the post you have accepted. May God help you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 64-5

128. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

November 27, 1928

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have both your letters. Do go to Dwarka if you wish to. Do not at all take to heart my absence. Some day this body is bound to leave for ever. Why be distressed over separation from it? We should find happiness in devotion to a cause for which our passing away would have a meaning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3341

129. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your telegram.[1] I sent the following reply:

"Your wire. Having read Exhibition advertisement see great conflict our ideals. Would therefore urge you go your way leaving me alone.—Gandhi"

Before your telegram was received, early in the morning today I dictated a letter to Pandit Motilalji from which I extract the enclosed apposite paragraph.

There remains very little for me to add to it. I have seen the advertisement sheet about which I would like to say one word. It contains no restrictions as to exhibits. It offers among

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 to "Telegram to Dr. B. C. Roy", 26-11-1928.

other items a riotous worship of goddess Vani. The Exhibition authorities are said to have approached all local Governments for exhibits. Apart from this indiscriminate permission for all and sundry exhibits, I am unable to endorse the approach to local Governments one of which only the other day dealt shamelessly by one of the bravest sons of India and which had the temerity to bolster up the unprovoked assault. Nor am I in a mood to go in for enchanting music and riotous displays. But I have no business to interfere with your programme. You are the best judges of what is good for the nation from your own standpoint. Only I should find myself absolutely lonely in that Exhibition. There is a clear clash of ideals. I do not expect through correspondence to convert you nor will you expect to convert me. It is surely better therefore to leave me out of account. I would not on any account have you to deflect yourself from your course, simply for the sake of pleasing me.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13303

130. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter of the 15th instant. I waited all these days for a confirmation from Dr. Bidhan Roy or Subhas, but I have none up to the time of dictating, that is, 28th morning. I wired on Monday to Dr. Bidhan. There is no reply. Meanwhile I have seen a cutting which I send you herewith. They are evidently inviting local Governments' co-operation. Evidently now all distinction has vanished and the Exhibition will be a more spectacular display than an instructive effort designed to educate the poor cultivator and the other public. There is a gratuitous mention there of khadi. But there is no room in this Exhibition for me or khadi in the real sense. Evidently it will not exclude either foreign cloth or foreign anything. I cannot say I am not grieved over this, but I do not want you to carry the matter any further. I write this letter merely for your information.

I do not seek your intervention for a mechanical change of opinion or for a mechanical respect for my wishes. I must cut my way through these grievous difficulties with patient toil. After all Dr. Bidhan and Subhas represent a definite school of thought. Their opinion is entitled to my respect as I expect theirs for my own. That which is in the interest of the people will prevail in the long run. Who can decide beforehand which is the correct opinion in terms of the multitude?

I see you are having no end of difficulties with Mussalman friends regarding your report. But I see you are unravelling the tangle with consummate patience and tact. May your great effort be crowned with full success.

From your note I gather that the Convention will meet not on the 22nd December but on the 26th, 27th and 28th, the dates on which the Muslim League is to meet. Or, am I to understand that the Convention will formally meet on the 22nd and continue its session till the 28th? I do not see the slip referred to in the note. Hence the little confusion in my mind. Surely, you do not want me to be in Calcutta all these days.

From our conversation at Sabarmati I had understood that you would want me for the Congress and not the Convention. For myself I do not know what possible service I can render at the Convention. There is utter confusion in my mind created by the kaleidoscopic scenes going on before one in the country. All I can say is that I do not envy your position. But I know you are as much at home with such things as I am with the charkha. And if you will agree to the arrangement, I should be content to remain at the wheel and leave you to the joys of meandering through the intricate paths of diplomacy. But my fate is in your hands until you give your decision. Meanwhile I drink in the peace and the silence that Jamnalalji has provided for me in Wardha.

You will have seen the appeal about Lalaji Memorial. After much telegraphing to the Punjab friends, I decided that there should be no more signatures to the Memorial than the three that have appeared. It would have taken a long time to have got the consent of all the men who were mentioned as signatories. They insisted upon at least your and my name appearing together with the three. But I vetoed the proposal anticipating your approval of the veto. You will however please do whatever you can for the Fund, due regard being had to your taxing appointments.

I see that you have to begin with the first letter of the alphabet about Kamala's treatment. I am glad, however, that she will

be in Dr. Bidhan's capable hands, and he will have Sir Nilratan at his beck and call in case of emergency.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

PS.

Since dictating this I got Dr. Bidhan's wire to which I have sent the enclosed letter[1].

From a photostat: S.N. 13302

131. LETTER TO T. K. SRINIVASAN[2]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[3]
November 28, 1928

MY DEAR SRINIVASAN,

I have your letter. I do not propose to deal with it in the pages of *Young India* for I am sure no one else is likely to draw the deduction that you and your sister seem to have drawn from my writings. The whole of the case for a humanitarian ending of a creature's life is based upon the assumption that whether belonging to the human species or a lower order if they had consciousness such a creature would not wish to live as I had assumed the calf would not in the circumstances in which it was placed and that there was no other service possible. In your sister's case you and many others are at her beck and call and you all consider it, and that rightly, a privilege to render what service you can and relieve her pain be it ever so little. Her momentary wish to have her life put an end to was purely philanthropic out of regard for the convenience of her nurses. She was wrong in her reason-

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] In reply to his letter dated November 21, 1928, which read: "My sister aged 20 who is suffering from paralytic attack has had all kinds of treatment from various medical experts. No doctor has yet given hope of recovery. . . . She happened to be near me when I was reading your article on the killing of the Ashram calf. She said in an appealing tone, 'Will you allow me to end my life? . . .' She paused for a while, and after some reconsideration said, 'Oh, how can I escape from my karma? I cannot avoid it; I can only postpone it by death. I suppose, then, Gandhiji is not right in killing the calf.' . . . May I request you to consider the matter in *Young India* as I believe that many others may share the same opinion" (S.N. 13729).

[3] Permanent address

ing. What she considered was an inconvenience to her nurses was a privilege, or should be, in the latter's estimation. And if she desired death, the nurses could not comply with her desire, for that compliance would be tantamount to shirking of an obvious duty.

The question of karma does not arise at all in either case. This has been repeatedly explained in the pages of *Young India*. If we were to bring in the law of karma in such matters, we would put an end to all effort. The working of the law of karma is an incessant, ever-going process; whereas you and your sister evidently assumed that certain actions were set in motion and that the motion in that straight direction continued uninterrupted without the operation of any further actions coming into play. The fact indeed is that every activity in nature is constantly interfering with the law of karma. Such interference is inherent in the law. For the law is not a dead, rigid, inert thing, but it is an ever-living, ever-growing mighty force.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. K. SRINIVASAN
SAKTI NILAYAM, PALAIYUR, *Via* MUTHUPET

From a photostat: S.N. 13307

132. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1928

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

I had your long telegram and now I have your long letter redirected to me from Sabarmati. It is for that reason perhaps that I miss *The Tribune* cutting which I have not yet seen. Lala Jagannath tells me he sent no telegram to *The Tribune* or any other paper. Without knowing the contents of the cutting it is difficult for me to say anything more.

About the memorial you will have seen the appeal[1] signed by Dr. Ansari, Pandit Malaviyaji and Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla. I do not think that it is possible to support the Congress out of these funds. Nor should any appeal in the name of a great person be made on behalf of Provincial Congress. Each organization must really stand on its own merits and command the confidence of monied men in its own province. Anyway that is my firm

[1] *Vide* "Appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund", 26-11-1928.

conviction. I do not know what view the signatories will take of your proposal. It comes upon me as a surprise. The only way in which, in my opinion, these funds should be utilized is first to put Lalaji's own creation—the Society—on a firm footing and support such political activities of his, which have an all-India character. There may be other provincial or sectional memorials, but even these can't include the support of a growing and varied organization like a Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,

LALA GIRDHARILAL
DIWAN BHAWAN, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13345

133. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1928

DEAR DR. SATYAPAL,

I had your wire as also your letter. I have not been writing to you as I had no time. You will see from *Young India*[1] that I have noticed your telegram and made suitable comments upon it. Your telegram is excellent if it fulfils the condition I have laid down in my note in *Young India*. My caution was necessary because, if my recollection serves me right, in the communication that I had from you some months ago during Lalaji's lifetime, you had represented yourself as the injured party. If you still have that sense of injury, your telegram is meaningless. What we want at this critical period in our history is not a mechanical unity, that is a superfluous thing, but a heart unity which can't break under any strain. No other unity, no patched-up truce, will answer our purpose when a supreme heroic effort is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SATYAPAL
42 NISBET ROAD, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13346

[1] *Vide* "Good if True", 29-11-1928.

134. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
November 28, 1928

I enclose herewith Rev. Gordon's letter. The lame young man whom he mentions is evidently otherwise a capable man. Can you take him up? He won't be a burden and it will be a good thing if we can accommodate him. The Committee at Sabarmati was afraid to have him and as Mr. Gordon says the young man could not have been happy either not knowing Hindi. If you think that he can be taken please write to Rev. Gordon.

I expect to see you here next month. You will do whatever is possible regarding the Lalaji Memorial. You will have seen the appointment of the new Agent General[2]. No comment is necessary.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
GANDHI ASHRAM, TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 13738

135. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 28, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. I shall be sorry indeed if you have to enter the Municipality again, unless you enter it on condition of perfect obedience being rendered to you. If you have to go in for the purpose of settling disputes, it is not worth while. My conviction is that you cannot combine all-India work with solid municipal work. Solid municipal work is a thing complete in itself and requires all the energy that a man can give it and I would not like your work to be anything but solid.

I was to have gone to Mysore to attend the Christian Convention. That was the hope I had given to friends during the middle of the year, but I informed them about a month ago that my going was impossible, if I was to have any rest at all.

[1] Permanent address
[2] K. V. Reddi; *vide* "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", 9-11-1928.

The news you had given me about Kamala is bad. I like the idea of her being under treatment in Calcutta. She will have there the best medical advice possible.

I do hope that you will find time to attend the meeting here.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 13739

136. LETTER TO SARSI LAL SARKAR[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[2]
November 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the booklet[3] for which I thank you. If you knew how pressed I am for time, you would not ask me to read anything outside my line of work.

I hope you do not want me to develop further the theme of the chanting of Ramanama and the so-called autobiographical chapters I am writing.

Could you please send me a brief summary, if not a translation, of the Poet's letter[4] referred to in your letter? I am sorry to say that it has escaped my attention as I must confess to my shame I do not read Bengali.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARSI LAL SARKAR
177 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
SHYAMBAZAR P.O., CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13740

[1] In reply to his letter dated November 19, 1928
[2] Permanent address
[3] On Tagore's poems
[4] On charkha

137. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, LATENT LIGHT CULTURE

AS AT SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 28, 1928

THE PRESIDENT
LATENT LIGHT CULTURE, TINNEVELLY

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry that I have not yet been able to reach your book and now that I am again on the move I do not know when I shall be able to look at it. I would really not trouble you to send me the lessons that you have kindly offered to send. I shall have no time to read them. And I do not think that the other members of the Ashram, busy as they are, will have much time at their disposal to tackle new things.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13741

138. LETTER TO BALBIR TYAGI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
Wednesday [November 28, 1928][2]

CHI. BALBIR,

You should have sent me a letter. Why haven't you written? You should write at least once a week.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6635

[1] Permanent address

[2] From the printed letter-head it is evident that this letter was written in 1928. As Balbir lived in Sabarmati Ashram, *vide* "Letter to Abhay Sharma", 11-11-1928, Gandhiji must have written this after reaching Wardha on November 24. Wednesday following this fell on this date.

139. WHO SHOULD WEEP?

I have before me notes of Acharya Kripalani's speech delivered at Jabalpur at a public meeting from which I take the following striking extracts[1] to show what the British people have lost through Lalaji's death. Though the vast majority of them are today ignorant of Lalaji's genuine friendship towards them, a day will come when they will realize what service patriots like Lalaji have rendered to them.

> But there is another party which should participate with us today in this our immense loss though it may be unconscious of what it has lost. Our rulers have a vast empire at stake. And in Lalaji they have lost a friend true and sincere, a friend who helped them even every time that he was punished and insulted by blind and intoxicated authority.
>
> It was in the Partition agitation days that Lalaji was deported without trial by the Government and yet when he returned he resisted the overtures of the so-called extreme wing of the Congress politicians. He helped the Moderates headed by Phirozeshah and Gokhale. Though he was injured the most yet he turned the left cheek to the nominal Christians who no more remember the virtues of their Master. . . .
>
> Once more during the Non-co-operation movement he was sent to jail on a charge which could not bear the light of law and justice. But when he was discharged from jail he again helped his persecutors. He pleaded for entry into the Councils for what is called discriminate support.
>
> . . . Well therefore might the British people weep, and weep they would were they not dazzled and blinded by the pride of power.
>
> If even after the departure of such trusty Indian friends, tried and true, the Englishmen persist in their obstinacy, a time may come when the Indian generations to be will vow eternal enmity to England. It may even be the kind of enmity that Christians vowed and carried out through centuries against the Jews for the Christ who was crucified. It is quite possible that their domination may come to be viewed as a crucifixion of a whole nation and might rouse the worst passions of the generations yet unborn. Let therefore the Empire take thought and take heed, make up while yet there is time for the night cometh when the die will have been cast and retreat and compromise will be out of the question.

Young India, 29-11-1928

1 Only excerpts are reproduced here.

140. *LALAJI MEMORIAL*

I invite the attention of readers to the appeal for five lakhs issued over the signatures of Dr. Ansari, Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla. Signatures have been purposely restricted to those only without whose signatures no memorial can be considered truly national. There was great difficulty in choosing other names. Nor was there time enough to consult all the parties whose names should appear, if some of them might. After all if the prestige of Lalaji's name is not enough to induce the public to subscribe liberally, no names however many or distinguished they may be are likely to fetch subscriptions. The only assurance therefore the public need have in respect of memorials such as this is that the appeal must be from those whose names are a guarantee of good faith and honest administration. The three signatories are more than ample guarantee of these essentials.

I hope that the response will be quick and generous. It is to be wished that all those who have come under Lalaji's benign influence will send in their mite. The Memorial will gain in weight for small subscriptions making up the total of five lakhs. If we can collect five lakhs from five lakhs men and women, this collection by itself will be substantial propaganda for swaraj. And if the minimum sum fixed by the signatories to the appeal is made up principally of small subscriptions, no pressure will be felt by anyone during these hard times. If monied men have a special duty in such matters, the others are not on that account absolved from their duty of contributing according to their ability.

I suggest therefore to the various associations and societies that they make immediate collections from all on their rolls or under their influence. We have at least 27,00,000 students in high schools and colleges. They can always save from their pocket money enough to make a very substantial sum. Nor should the suppressed classes lag behind in tendering their quota.

We often waste time and energy in debating and wrangling over a multitude of suggestions and rehearse many possible improvements. Let such critics remember that perfection is not possible in human undertakings. Let us therefore try to do well things even though we may think of better things so long as what is presented to us for acceptance is not open to any fatal objection and especially when it comes from tried and trusted leaders.

Any subscriptions sent to the *Young India* office will be acknowledged in these columns.

Young India, 29-11-1928

141. GOOD IF TRUE

Dr. Satyapal sent me on 22nd November, 1928, the following telegram:

> Lala Lajpat Rai's death causes irreparable loss to Punjab. I offer my most humble and affectionate salutations to the great departed leader at this deplorable and critical juncture. I on my behalf and of other friends who differed from Lalaji assure friends who were offended for differing from Lalaji that we hereby sink all differences and resolve starting with a clean slate. We bear no ill will, we have no prejudice and we offer our hearty co-operation in all political movements started by Lalaji and we place ourselves unreservedly at the disposal of such friends. We offer hearty invitation to all these friends who have remained away from the Congress to join hands with us vigorously to pursue the campaign of swaraj, for which Lalaji lived and died. Henceforth in sacred memory of Lalaji we resolve to present a united front, even if it be possible by our complete surrender.

It reflects great credit upon its authors, if the sentiments expressed in the telegram are heartfelt. I am obliged to utter this note of warning because I have known so many such deathbed repentances that one is never sure whether they are heartfelt or whether they are due to the impulse of the moment, or what is worse, outward pressure. The authors will never be able to bury the hatchet if inside their hearts they feel that their opposition to Lalaji was justified and warranted by circumstances and dictated by no selfish consideration or other unworthy motives but by the purest patriotism. If such was the case there would be no cause for repentance. One can only be just to the memory of a dead man, one cannot wipe from one's memory the wrong he might have really done. Repentance presupposes conviction of one's own error. If then the authors feel that on the whole they wronged Lalaji in his lifetime or that the motive for their opposition was mixed then the repentance is genuine and should last. Subject to this reservation, I tender my congratulations to Dr. Satyapal and his companions on this patriotic message and hope that there would be a strong, sustained and united effort in the Punjab to carry on the mission bequeathed by Lalaji. In many

respects it is possible for the Punjab to give the lead to the whole of India, if only the Punjab wills it, and if party feeling and communalism disappear in that land of five rivers. If the Punjab Press, instead of indulging in vituperation and innuendoes as a portion of it does, will but educate public opinion along right lines, I have no doubt that the rest of India will follow. Nothing can be a greater monument to the memory of Lalaji than that the Punjab should lead all India along the right path.

Young India, 29-11-1928

142. '*A BLOT ON BOMBAY*'

Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai of Ghatkopar Sarvajanik Jivadaya Khatun has sent to the President, Municipal Corporation, the following reasoned letter on the question of milk supply to Bombay:[1]

Bombay has been called Bombay the beautiful. If Bombay means merely Malabar Hill and Chowpati and beauty is to be referred only to the exterior, then Bombay is certainly beautiful. But if the heart of Bombay is penetrated, like most of our cities it is ugly both in appearance and reality. The indifference of city fathers to the milk supply of their city is truly criminal and the facts carefully compiled in the foregoing letter do constitute a "blot" on Bombay the beautiful. But it seems to me to be useless merely to blame the members of the Municipality. They are after all what the voters make them. If Bombay is to have a cheap supply of pure milk the education of the voters should be undertaken on a wide scale. They should be taught never to vote for any candidate who does not pledge himself to secure a proper milk supply for the city in the quickest possible time. In the language of Blatchford milk should be treated like postage stamps. It should not be left to private enterprise but should be the first care of every municipality.

Young India, 29-11-1928

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had quoted authoritative opinions explaining that high price of milk was due to the faulty system of stabling animals in the heart of the city, their 'costly feeding' and their 'premature slaughter'.

143. *HAND-SPINNING IN MYSORE*

No State in India has so systematically encouraged hand-spinning as the State of Mysore. I have before me a copy of the note prepared by Sjt. G. Ranganatha Rao Sahib, the Director of Industries in Mysore, for submission to the State Sub-committee "constituted to consider the question of hand-spinning". I give the note[1] below in full:

I congratulate the Director and the Sub-committee on the thoroughness with which they are handling this very important national supplementary cottage industry. Naturally the Director is cautious in his note. Equally naturally every step taken in organizing hand-spinning is being taken with deliberation and due thought. The result is that even from the very commencement the Department has been able to avoid loss on capital. The Department did not disdain to profit by the labours of the All-India Spinners' Association or to accept the technical assistance offered by it. It is quite clear from the report that the field to be covered by the wheel is vast enough to engage the attention of many workers in the field. I hope that the experiments that are being carried on to perfect a village carding machine will succeed. The machine to be of value will have to be such as to be capable of being worked by the villagers. My own humble opinion is that it is not possible to improve upon the carding-bow now in use in our villages. The Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association tried to introduce small changes in the original bow, but the foundation seems to be incapable of alteration, if we bear in mind the purpose for which the bow is intended. What is more, if the cotton to be carded is good, well-picked and well-cleaned, carding with the bow becomes an incredibly easy, simple and quick process and capable of being undertaken by even delicately built men and women. And my own experience is that no more than five minutes need be given to carding and sliver-making for an hour's spinning of thirty counts. Half a *tola* of thirty counts gives 320 yards, fine average speed for a good spinner. To card half a *tola* of cotton will not require more than five minutes for a tolerably good carder. And

[1] Not reproduced here. It described an attempt in village Badanval "to test by intensive work, the practicability of introducing hand-spinning as a subsidiary occupation to our agriculturists".

if the thousand spinners whom the Director mentions could be coaxed to learn carding, they could prepare their own slivers and add a little more to their earning per hour, because it will be possible to give spinners who are their own carders a little more wage than to those who spin with slivers prepared for them.

Whilst tendering my congratulations to the Mysore State upon its zeal on behalf of the poorest *raiyats*, I venture to remind the well-to-do citizens of Mysore and also the officials that khadi will not find an abiding place in the homes of the people of Mysore unless these two classes adopt khadi for their own wear. They now know that it is possible to get as fine khadi as they wish to possess. Let them not confuse the minds of the unsophisticated villagers by leading them to think that the so-called higher classes are not prepared to practise what they preach. Let them remember the words of the *Bhagavad Gita*:

> The simple folk imitate the action (not the speech) of excellent men.[1]

Young India, 29-11-1928

144. MORE CONDOLENCES OVERSEAS

The following cablegrams have been received from the Kathiawar Arya Mandal and the Saurashtra Hindu Association, Durban, and the Indian Union, Glasgow University, respectively:[2]

Young India, 29-11-1928

145. LETTER TO J. KRISHNAMURTI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 29, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[3] for which I thank you. I hope that you are completely restored. It will certainly give me much pleasure

[1] III. 21

[2] These are not reproduced here; all these organizations had sent condolences on the death of Lajpat Rai.

[3] Dated November 22, 1928, which read: "I was so greatly looking forward to seeing you . . . but most unfortunately I have had to cancel my whole tour on account of my having a bad cold. . . . I hope I may have the pleasure of meeting you soon."

to see you whenever you can find the time. I am in Wardha up to the 20th December at least, then I shall be in Calcutta for about a week and then I hope to find myself in Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. J. KRISHNAMURTI
C/O R. D. MORARJI, ESQ.
VASANT VIHAR, MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13006

146. LETTER TO M. K. GOVINDA PILLAI & WIJNANA CHANDRA SEN

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 29, 1928

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I have your letter. Please give me your respective ages, whether you are married, whether you have parents, whether you know any other language beyond Malayalam, what training you have received in English and where you were trained. What certificate does the head of your institution give you? And you should send all the other particulars which I should know.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. K. GOVINDA PILLAI
SJT. WIJNANA CHANDRA SEN
ARYA SAMAJ, KOTTAYAM (TRAVANCORE)

From a photostat: S.N. 13008

147. LETTER TO KANNAYIRAM PILLAI

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 29, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

As promised in my last letter to you, I made enquiries and I am now satisfied that in mentioning certain depots there was no question of favouritism. Only those depots were mentioned where large sales were expected. The leaflet was circulated only in the places which were on the list. There was no question of slighting private merchants. The Charkha Sangh Vastralaya does sell in retail full dhotis and pieces. You should really dis-

cuss your grievances with Sjt. Varadachari with and under whom you are working.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KANNAYIRAM PILLAY
TAMIL NAD KHADI VASTRALAYA, TIRUPPUR (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13292

148. LETTER TO HANNA LAZAR

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
November 29, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your very touching letter. I am glad that you have given me your confidence. It is very difficult for me to guide you from this distance without knowing full circumstances. But, generally speaking, I would say 'no divorce'. But if your temperaments are incompatible, you should live in voluntary separation.

In any case, I hope you will have mental peace.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. HANNA LAZAR
WEST BANK, VICTORIA STREET, OUDTOBAARA, C.P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13743

149. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 29, 1928

I have your cable redirected to me from Sabarmati. It was received on the 26th. At first I found it difficult to understand it. I thought you did not know anything about Lalaji's death. But then I saw that you had alarming telegrams about Lalaji's death being due to the injuries received. My own opinion is that the physical injury was not serious, though, having been received in the region of the heart, it might have proved fatal. And the injuries would have been very serious had it not been for the intervention of friends who surrounded him bravely and received the blows themselves. But there is no doubt that Lalaji received a nervous shock from which he never completely recovered.

All his writings, all his speeches after the incident are eloquent proof of my statement. Government's indifference and elaborate statement summarily dismissing Lalaji's challenge ignoring even Lalaji's name added fuel to the fire that was raging in his breast. He did not feel so much the personal wrong as the wrong done through him to the whole nation. The prostration of the people made the insult all the more galling. You will see in the pages of *Young India* the appeal issued for a national Memorial for Lalaji. Sheth Ghanshyamdas Birla has started it with a handsome donation of Rs. 15,000. I am hoping that the appeal will meet with generous response.

I am in Wardha at least up to the 20th December. I shall have to be in Calcutta for a few days. Then I want to go back to Sabarmati. I have not the courage yet to bury myself there. Somehow or other I feel that I must go out for a while and then there is the often postponed European visit. If you have altered your views and think that I should not visit Europe, you will cable so. Your negative decision would be final for me. If you mean yes, you need not cable, because there may be many things in spite of my wish to go to Europe that may prevent me. The going therefore will take its own course.

I enclose herewith copy of a letter received from the Macmillan Company. Having got the copyright, they evidently want the pound of flesh. I wish I had not entered into this. I entered into it because of Rev. Holmes. But it is all right. Perhaps they will give the permission to you. I shouldn't mind if they would only publish the *Autobiography* in volumes. I have no notion when the whole thing will be finished, even though I am omitting many important events and trying to hurry on to the Non-co-operation days. I want to break off after the Special Session at Calcutta, because the events are too fresh and there are so many contemporaries whom I must describe, if I am to write further. I feel too that it would be advisable for me to stop at that stage for thenceforward my life has been too public. Therefore there is no need for further elucidation. And then of course there is *Young India*, a clear mirror through which anybody who cares can look at me.

Mahadev I had to leave at Bardoli this time because of the Bardoli Inquiry which is getting on quite nicely.

I hope you are doing quite well.

I have received your article though belated on Gopabandhu Babu. You will of course send me your reminiscences of Lalaji.

I have your correction about Miss Mayo. It will go in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*.[1]

Bristol Times cutting is shocking, but such is modern journalism and such is also the notion about truth of fliers through the air!

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET, LONDON W.C. 1

From a photostat: S.N. 15099

150. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 29, 1928

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter.

If the meaning you read in 'win over Narandas'[2] is correct, I admit that it should hurt you. But you should never have read that meaning in the remark. How can you know the context in which it was made? It was in continuation of a conversation with Chhaganlal Joshi. It is plain that there are reserves between you two. Chhaganlal is the Secretary. He knows his weakness, and I know it too. If at all, I should advise him. The remark 'win over Narandas' was intended to suggest to him that it was his duty to try to understand you, to listen to your point of view and to accommodate himself to you. It does not imply any defect in you. If I had wished to imply any defect in you, I would not have said 'win over'. Instead, I would have said 'reform Narandas through love', or something to that effect, and I would also have first drawn your attention to your defect. I have observed no such defect in you and, therefore, there was no question of my drawing your attention to it. I certainly do not wish that you should remain silent or should not draw attention to any errors you may observe. If you fail to draw attention to them, I would blame you for that. Do you understand my

[1] Published on December 6, 1928; it read: "I regret that an inaccuracy came unawares into my first article on Miss Mayo's book about India. I had been informed by an authority, on whom I implicitly relied, that Miss Mayo had been 'employed' to write a book for propaganda purposes just after the War. I find now that the word 'employed', which implied some monetary payment, was inaccurate and I wish to withdraw it with an apology."

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 23-11-1928.

meaning now? Please let me know if there is any other point which requires to be clarified. You can show this letter to Chhaganlal. I think it would be better if you do so. But I leave it to you to decide whether or not you should.

I wish to make a few inquiries about Chalala[1]. I shall, therefore, write about it afterwards.

Pass on the accompanying letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is Purushottam? Did he derive any benefit from Jivan[2]? How is Jamna?

From Gujarati: C.W. 7722. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

151. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

Thursday, November 29, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I am sure you have sent the accompanying papers to me through some mistake. I often receive papers like these which need not have been sent to me.

In your letter you make no suggestion concerning Shankerlal's letter. Should I get another resolution passed here?

I will inquire a little further into the Chalala affair and then write to you. I return with this the letters of . . . behn[3] and . . . lal[4]. It is certainly a painful chapter.

The reason why Mahavir, Durga and Maitri fall ill frequently is nothing but their food.

I wanted to write to you about myself when I had leisure. There is no trace of impatience in the experiments I am making. It was all along my intention to experiment with the use of oil after coming here. I had not been taking fruit even when I was there. Even then I ate nothing but fruits during the journey. Here, too, I do not exclude fruits altogether.

Today being Lalaji Day, and for other reasons, I have eaten only fruits. The only material difference is that I take no milk.

[1] A centre of constructive work in Saurashtra

[2] An Ayurvedic tonic

[3] & [4] The names are omitted in the source.

I naturally feel sometimes that I should compete with all of you. But you have no reason to feel worried about this. No one here feels worried. Everyone knows that I will attempt nothing beyond my strength. It is many years since I overcame the attachment to life; this is not a new thing.

It is enough that you keep on striving. You should never worry that you will not be able to attain the level which you say I have done. It is easy enough to attain that level; in any matter in which you find it difficult to do so, put yourself in God's hand. If you stop worrying, your efforts will succeed better. If you lack fitness for anything, you will acquire it by patiently striving for it. If even after this, you have any questions to ask me, ask them.

The problem of Chi. Santok and Keshu is difficult. I have been thinking what to do. At any rate, this sum cannot be paid against wheat.[1] I will write about this later.

You have done well in relieving Somabhai. He cannot be continued for six months, or even for one month.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 13-4

152. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[November 29, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have finished the letter to be read in the presence of everyone. Since you have succeeded in obtaining cow's ghee, I now wish to take no hasty step.

On a day such as Lalaji Memorial Day, may we not reckon the wages for all forms of labour at the same rate? It would be better to apply this rule to items where it can be easily applied. For that purpose, a register such as I have suggested should be maintained. That is, the wage per hour should be fixed at one or three-quarters of an anna, and the register should show the quantum of work per hour for each kind of labour. For instance, for spinning 300 yards per hour, or any other figure that you may fix, and

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 27-11-1928.
[2] "Lalaji Memorial Day" mentioned in this letter fell on this date.

similarly for grinding grain, weaving, digging, cleaning grain, cleaning land, weaving *pati*[1], carpentry, etc., calculation would become easy if we had such a table. Everyone maintains a diary, so that we can count up the value of everyone's work for our information. My point is that, if we accept the principle I have suggested, we can thus scientifically examine its working.

I have been thinking about Krishnamaiyadevi. You will have to play a prominent part in this matter. You should speak to her if she shirks work or does anything improper.

It is necessary that you should write to me about what you hear concerning Shardabehn. Sometimes the stories we hear are false. What is the nature of Gangabehn's discontent?

I like the idea that one day in the week everyone should work for a fixed number of hours. There should be no dirt anywhere in the [Udyoga] Mandir.

I shall have a talk with Mirabehn. The issues of "Mandir Samachar" for both the weeks have been got up so badly that it is impossible to read them.

I see no harm in drawing Shamalbhai's expenses either from the Mandir or from the Vidyapith. Kaka may do what will give him better peace of mind. I believe Kaka cannot join in the experiment of living within Rs. 12 [a month]. For one thing, he is not an expert in experimenting with his body so that he can take any kind of liberty with it.

There is no letter from Bal. I was taken aback to learn what he had demanded. I was ready to be told that he had asked for something more than Rs. 12, but not as much as Rs. 20. You need not hurt him. I shall thrash out the point with him.

I understand what kind of an agreement we should have with the Spinners' Association. I shall now write to Shankerlal. You need not worry on this account. You are also doing right in collecting opinions. Think about all aspects objectively.

Cultivate such health that you should never catch cold or any such infection.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 14-6.

[1] Bed-tape

153. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

WARDHA,
November 29, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I got your letter and the books sent by you. The books are being used. We now make bread in the Ashram. If you come across a simple book about making biscuits, please send it. The book on bread contains no information about making biscuits.

I am making inquiries in regard to Shri Jerajani's brother. If you come to know about anyone else who knows bee-keeping, please let me know.

I am taking some steps in regard to Sumant. If the facts are as stated by you, I will certainly write in the papers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4708. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

154. LETTER TO SURENDRA

November 29, 1928

CHI. SURENDRA,

I have your postcard. I am pleased by your single-minded devotion to the tannery. If you become an expert in that work, you will be able to do the highest service both to the world and to human beings. Our men of dharma have taken no interest in this field at all, for modern Hindu society has committed the great sin of regarding that work as, from its very nature, tainted with *adharma*. We should atone for this sin by infusing the spirit of dharma in that work. I have been discussing the problem of cow-protection with some rich persons here. These discussions also lead me to the same conclusion. Give me from time to time a detailed description of your experiences there, so that I may gradually get the complete picture. I suppose I told you that Chhotelal had accompanied me here.

My work here is progressing satisfactorily. If you have not started keeping a diary, please do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3093

155. ADDRESS TO ASHRAM INMATES, WARDHA[1]

November 29, 1928

Our scriptures tell us that childhood, old age and death are incident only to this perishable body of ours and that man's spirit is eternal and immortal. That being so, why should we fear death? And where there is no fear of death there can be no sorrow over it either. It does not therefore behove us to shed tears over Lalaji's passing away but to emulate and copy his virtues. The central feature of his character was his burning passion for service of the motherland and he began his career with the service of the most downtrodden of his countrymen, viz., the so-called untouchables, whilst he was still a youth. It may not be given to everybody to emulate his career in the Assembly which was but a small incident in his career, but all can develop the spirit of sacrifice which ran like a continuous thread through his life. And sacrifice means self-purification. I would like you therefore on this solemn occasion to resolve to make an ever-increasing effort for self-purification. Through it you will be serving yourselves, your country and the world.

Young India, 13-12-1928

[1] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter" under the sub-title "Lajpatrai Day", which explained: "The 29th November, the day of national mourning over the loss of Lalaji, was duly observed here. . . . The inmates of the Wardha Ashram observed the national day after the poor man's way by doing manual labour and contributing the day's wages and denying themselves a week's ration of *gud*, the only item of luxury in their gheeless menu."

156. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
November 30, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your letter. I had your speech at Cawnpore read to me. I do not see substantial difference between the Associated Press report and the report[1] you have sent me. All the terrible threats and still more terrible exaggerations that are in the English report are to be found in the Urdu report. The slavery of the Hindus, the digging out of eyes, the challenge, the unequivocal indictment against the Hindus are all there in their nakedness. If you can spare the time, I would like you to read the cutting that I sent you, or if you have destroyed it, get another copy, and you will see almost every sentence of English report in the report you have sent me. And tell me if you will still call the speaker as per English report "a cad and a very crude performer", and, if you will do so, I would like you to tell me why and show me the difference between the English report and the Urdu in my possession.

No, the speaker at Cawnpore is not the Maulana with whom I have been so long familiar and with whom I have passed so many happy days as with a blood-brother and bosom friend. The Maulana of Cawnpore is an utter stranger to me. The Maulana I have known vowed that he was so bound to the Hindu for his help during the Khilafat agitation that he would put up with him, even if he ravished his sister, that so far as he and the Mussalmans under his influence were concerned, he was out to suffer at the hands of the Hindus who had done so well. Well, I do not ask him to suffer to the extent that he promised; but I do plead with him on bended knees to revise his Cawnpore speech, admit that he was out of sorts and bravely apologize to his Hindu brother for wounding his feelings as the Cawnpore speech undoubtedly does. If the Hindu has been a slave of old, you are co-sharer in his slavery by ties of blood, by acceptance of indissoluble partnership. You chose in 1920 to be co-sharer with the Hindu in his virtues as well as his vices for eternity, in his strength as well as his weakness.

[1] Which appeared in Hasrat Mohani's paper *Khilafat*, 18-11-1928

I would go all the way with you in accusing the Hindu of his many misdeeds; but I am unable to hold with you that he has been ever the aggressor, ever the tyrant and his Mussalman brother always the injured victim. If I had at all felt like that, you would have found me proclaiming it from the house-top. But I am not going into a controversy with you. I simply want to tell you that, in my opinion, all your incitement is wrong, your judgment is one-sided and that the Mussalman is at least equally guilty with the Hindu, if not on the whole more so. Assuming that you will impute honesty of motive and statement to me, I would ask you to make room for doubt as to the correctness of your judgment. In your Cawnpore speech you are too terribly dogmatic and emphatic. The assumption of infallibility is unworthy of you. I ask you to disown it for friendship's sake.

One personal thing, I must correct. The Khilafat Committee did pay for a time for my expenses at your instance, not on my request, and certainly not for the reason that you state, for the simple reason that I have never travelled at Congress expense on any single occasion, even when I have done exclusively Congress work. My travelling expenses have always been borne by friends. And when I accepted your offer, I had Rs. 25,000 placed at my disposal by a common friend, whom you know, purely for my travelling as he was most anxious that I should never stint myself about these, nor draw upon any public funds for them. I had given you this information, but I agreed with you that it would be more graceful if I let you pay my travelling expenses. But in the manner in which you now put the matter, I feel inclined to offer to return the whole of these expenses with interest if you will accept them without being insulted or offended. I think that Mahadev will have somewhere a record of these expenses.

Let me also correct another grave error. The Tilak Swaraj Fund is a matter of audited record. Every pie received is accounted for in the printed accounts which have been before the public now for years. You will perhaps be painfully surprised to discover that let alone 20 lacs there are not even two lacs received from Mussalmans for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. I do not make a grievance of this, but I want you to hold truth as a sacred thing. And if you want me to produce the handsome figures of Hindus who have paid to the Khilafat coffers I shall gladly do so and perhaps it would be another surprise for you. I wish you could recall those stirring days of our joint peregrination from shop to shop where Hindus vied with one another to pay even to the Khilafat Fund as to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Do you want me to

furnish you with a sample list? If I am erring, I would like you to correct me not by a counter assertion but by figures. But if you have none, I want you to tender an apology not to me, not to the public, but to God for having been betrayed into a hasty but painful error.

I had the report of your version of the Cowasji Jehangir Hall meeting read to me. The conduct of the audience was disgraceful beyond words. I have always held this imitation of the West as a degraded and degrading thing unworthy of us. This wretched imitation may yet prove our undoing. You were entitled to a respectful hearing. Above all at a condolence meeting such conduct was criminal. In spite of what I consider to be a temporary aberration on your part the meeting should have remembered your many and brilliant services to the Motherland. But here my agreement with you ends. I refuse to endorse the deduction that you have drawn in favour of your theory of universal condemnation of Hindus. A purely Mussalman audience has been known before now to behave no better. The conduct of the meeting in question was symptomatic not of Hindu mentality but of the present mentality of city Indians. You and I, Mussalmans and Hindus, have to club together to eradicate this growing evil from our midst and not to fling mud against one another. Just as you remained unmoved in the meeting so should you have remained unmoved when you reached home and found yourself surrounded by friends. You should have laughed at the incident as I have so often generously seen you laugh at such incidents and forgive contrary to my wish what you have called the pardonable indiscretions of exuberant youths. Have you not said so often, let them do so, they have been too long under slavery?

I have done. Personally if you are still your old self, I have no anxiety to see our correspondence in print.[1] But if you think that there is nothing left for you but war to the knife, by all means publish the correspondence. But if you are still the old gentle brother that I have known you to be, then read this letter again and again if the first reading does not satisfy you. Read it with Mahomed Ali. I am in no hurry. Then lay aside all other work and both of you come down to Wardha, you with a determination still to hold me in your pocket. You will find me easy enough to carry. I am fast losing weight. But if after mature joint deliberation you cannot take any such heroic step, then pub-

[1] In his letter dated November 25 Shaukat Ali had asked: "Have I your permission to publish the correspondence or a portion of it . . . " (S.N. 13733).

lish this correspondence and spare me the painful necessity of having to make some statement to the public. And believe that, whether you feel my presence in your pocket or not, I am there. My unchangeable creed is non-violence and universal brotherhood. Therefore I repeat what I have said from a thousand platforms that mine is a unilateral partnership and therefore my partnership with you and the other Mussalmans is indissoluble. Though they may disown me a million times, I shall still be theirs when occasion demands it. May God help so that I am not found wanting.

I appreciate your decision about All-India Spinners' Association. I won't misunderstand it. Your decision is right and your resignation will be accepted. But I would expect you to come back to the Association when you feel that spinning is part of your duty not only as a nationalist but also as a Mussalman, that you owe it to the millions of your countrymen not merely because you are an Indian but equally because you are a Mussalman, that is, if my reading of Islam is correct.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
THE CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMISSION
SULTAN MANSIONS, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13744

157. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Friday [November 30, 1928]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I had no letter from you today.

I have thought about the Chalala matter. For the present, let the work go ahead according to the budget prepared by Jaisukhlal. I mean by this that you should make the required sums available from the balance in the khadi account. These sums should be debited in the Chalala account and should be recovered from the proceeds of the sale of Amreli khadi lying with us. We would not have to pay anything if all that stock could be sold off immediately. All that I have to decide, therefore, is this: how to help Chalala so that it would not matter if it incurred a loss up to Rs. 800 during the next year. The loss should be met from the profit from Amreli khadi and not by raising the price

of Chalala khadi. If you are required to undertake responsibility for anything more than this, let me know.

If you require Shripatrao's help in the Ashram, by all means ask him for it.

The inmates of the Ashram here did physical labour yesterday[1] to be able to contribute something to the Lalaji Memorial Fund and have decided to give up eating jaggery for a week from today. They were served gruel every morning containing three *tolas* of jaggery per head. Instead of jaggery, salt is being added now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14822

158. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

November 30, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have had a letter from you after a long time. I can forgive you everything. Certainly you need not spin nor keep a diary. I certainly observe a difference of temper between us but what does that matter? How can I expect that you should look at everything through my eyes, or that your eyes and mine should be alike? I may not give up the spinning-wheel, because I have come to regard spinning as a form of *yajna*. There are other items in our daily programme of work, and I see their results from day to day. It gives me pleasure to see them. The results of the spinning-wheel *yajna* are a matter of faith. Has anyone observed personally that our spinning ends the poverty of the poor? But my faith tells me that it does, and so I keep apart some time for the *yajna* from the other tasks of our daily programme. If I did not do so, I would regard myself guilty of the sin of theft.

About the diary, there is another reason. I keep it because it is part of the discipline of the Ashram, or to be correct, of the [Udyoga] Mandir, to do so. A diary may not be necessary for me, but it is so for others and, therefore, I would not confuse their minds by not keeping one myself.

If anything in the rule which I follow with regard to Santok is not clear to you, please bear with it to that extent. The problem has perplexed me very much indeed.

[1] November 29; *vide* "Address to Ashram Inmates, Wardha", 29-11-1928.

I do not suffer any hardships. The atmosphere here is very congenial for the work I am doing. I will certainly not do anything at the cost of my health. Do not jump to conclusions from any rumours you may hear. If you have any apprehensions, write to me. If I had time, I would myself write to you about everything. I am not determined to continue at any cost the experiments in which I am currently engaged. The only change I have made is giving up of milk once again. Give it up, and resume it again—this will go on, like ebb and flow alternating with each other, for, as you know, I am not at all happy that I take milk.

I have not received a specimen of the diary. Ghanshyamdas is still here, as also Jagannathji. There are daily additions to the other company.

Tell Ramdas that he should write once in a while.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11442

159. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

November 30, 1928

BHAISHRI RAMNIKLAL,

I send the accompanying cutting for you to read. Will the average Jain accept the views expressed in it? Do you know the editor of *Jain Jagat*? He has also written a pleasant letter to me.

Write to me and give me news about the health of you both.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4143

160. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

November 30, 1928

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have received the letter I wrote to you yesterday. Can we not supply every month ten to twenty pounds of yarn of between 30 and 40 counts to those women in Poona who want fine yarn? We should feel ashamed if we cannot. If we cannot obtain the quality from anywhere, why cannot we spin fine yarn of that quality in the Ashram? Do not all of us spin one *tola* of yarn every day? Everyone should spin fine yarn and sell that quantity. If necessary, we may supply cotton to all.

In the yarn I spin at present, I easily attain a count of 30. To make one *tola* of 30 counts, we should have 480 (lengths of thread). I see, therefore, that we may not be able to maintain that average. But cannot we maintain an average of one-half *tola*? The cotton which I spin is grown locally from American seed. I am collecting more information about it.

I enclose a letter from Mirabehn for your information. We should not mind her anger, but should appreciate her sincere criticism. There is no limit to her frankness of heart. She is arriving here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7723. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhari

161. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

November 30, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

Prabhavati informs me in her letter that you are not keeping good health at present. If this is true, the cause must be mental agitation and the heavy burden on you. Please lighten that burden. Reduce physical work at any rate. If you fall ill, I shall blame you alone. The path which you should follow is clear and you must not deviate from it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8710. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

162. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After *November 30, 1928*][1]

BHAI CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. I sign the one regarding Shardabehn and return it. We must now think what to do about her. I shall not be able to send the letters to you today. I have not been able to read them all.

We ourselves require Narandas's opinion about the Chalala matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 64

163. A GOOD BEGINNING[2]

Subscriptions for the Lalaji Memorial have begun well with Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla heading the list with Rs. 15,000 at Wardha. The fact that a strong provincial committee has been formed in the Punjab and had at the time (1st instant) of writing this already had Rs. 25,000 on their list also augurs well. I wish all the provinces will follow suit and fix their own minimum and set about collecting that sum. Whilst I suggested a method of finding one's quota on the basis of population, it was obviously not intended to apply to those provinces, districts or cities which could bear a far larger proportion. It would be ridiculous for instance for Bombay to fling at the treasurer of the Fund its quota on the basis of population. Its quota can only be fixed according to its world-wide name and fame. Unfortunately we have in our country terrible contrasts. There are the submerged not tenth but fifth who are living in semi-starvation and who can therefore give nothing. Their burden has to be shouldered by the cities and the other prosperous areas.

[1] From the reference to Chalala matter; *vide* also "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 30-11-1928.

[2] Written on December 1, 1928

The rapidity with which the subscriptions for the Memorial are collected will be a measure of people's earnestness about preserving the memory of the Lion of the Punjab whose roar we shall hear no more. But let us remember that even twice the amount asked by the distinguished signatories to the appeal will not meet the requirements of the present day. Evidence is daily gathering round us that if we are to vindicate national honour which was stabbed when Lalaji was so brutally assaulted, we have to devise some means of hastening the advent of swaraj. One such means and the mildest is to finish the work that Lalaji was doing. He had undertaken to popularize the Nehru Report. Surely an effort in this direction is worth making and is quite feasible. To secure unanimity of approval for the Report is but a step in the national march. By itself it will not give even dominion status. But we shall surely need unanimity about some demand of ours before we devise common action to enforce the demand.

In my humble opinion any discussion on the respective merits of dominion status and unadulterated independence is irrelevant to our present purpose. Everybody seems to agree that if we get dominion status it would be a long step in the direction we want to go. But the independence group seem to argue that it is certain that we are never going to get dominion status and that since dominion status is not our final goal, why waste national energy on a fruitless errand and why not straightway work for independence pure and simple? There would be considerable force in the argument if the attainment of dominion status was an impossibility and if unanimity on independence was possible. As it is, if we can take action for independence with a fair chance of success, the same action plus unanimity which the Nehru Report has made possible on the issue of dominion status should surely make its attainment more possible than that of independence. All therefore I plead for is not cessation of independence propaganda on the part of those who are enamoured of the enchanting formula but whole-hearted support for dominion status even as a stage in their progress. I claim that the two are in no way incompatible provided of course dominion status for India does not mean something quite different from what it means for South Africa or Canada. Memory of Lalaji and reason then demand consolidation of public opinion on the Nehru Report, and that now. For let it be borne in mind that that report is not a permanent or final document. It is a compromise the best attainable which representatives of most parties have endorsed. If public opinion cannot be now focussed upon it, all the effort spent upon it will be re-

duced to nought and the great document will be out of date and out of place. Its value depends purely upon its immediate acceptance by all the great national organizations.

Young India, 6-12-1928

164. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

December 1, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

May I not say that you are a little fool? Why should you feel hurt because I asked you? If you feel hurt like this every time, I can ask you nothing.

I want to see you what I have imagined you are. I have no time today to write more. I can have no doubt that you would look after Manu properly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1761

165. TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER[1]

[On or after *December 1, 1928*]

SHANKERLAL BANKER

NO OFFICIAL INTIMATION RECEIVED. OTHER OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES RETAINED. ANY CASE TOO LATE ORGANIZE DECENT SHOW.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13306

[1] In reply to his telegram, received at Wardha on December 1, 1928, which read: "Referring Calcutta Reception Committee resolution excluding mill-cloth from Exhibition. Bihar inquiries whether participation permitted. Kindly wire final decision."

166. TELEGRAM TO K. SANTANAM

[On or after *December 1, 1928*][1]

HOPE YOU WILL TRY COLLECT SUBSCRIPTIONS WHEREVER YOU CAN.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13306

167. "A YOUNG HEART"[2]

A correspondent who signs himself "A young heart" has addressed me a long letter dealing with a number of subjects. This anxiety to keep the writer's name secret betrays cowardice or lack of moral courage, alas, fast becoming but too common amongst us. It ill becomes those who aspire after swaraj. I would appeal to our young men to shed this moral weakness and speak out their thoughts with courage and yet with humility and restraint. Even if they cannot be sure of their sense of discrimination and courtesy, let them express their thoughts in the language that comes to them naturally. Cowardly silence will not only not teach them discrimination or courtesy but it will demoralize them into the bargain.

REGARDING THE CALF

To come now to the questions adverted to by "A young heart" in his letter: The first one is about the yet unfinished calf episode. After observing that it was a grievous error on my part to have killed that calf, he goes on to give his arguments which I will skip over as they have already been answered in *Navajivan*. He then sums up:

> In short if the poor calf had the tongue to speak it would certainly have implored you to spare it the poison injection and let it die a natural death after drawing its allotted number of breaths. It seems to me that in an excess of pity for the suffering animal you betrayed yourself into a great error and soiled your pure hands with the blood of an

[1] In the source this and the preceding item appear on the same sheet.

[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 2-12-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

innocent calf. I am sure that on further reflection the truth of my observation and the magnitude of your mistake will become clear as daylight to you. It would be improper to say anything more to one like you who has seen truth face to face, still I cannot help adding that in case you ever discover your error and according to your nature confess it to the world, the world would feel grateful to you and further misunderstanding on the subject would be prevented. As it is, your action is bound to be misinterpreted and the sin of it all will be on your head. The sooner, therefore, you confess your error the better it would be for you and the world. May God vouchsafe to us all light and understanding!

Let me hasten to tell this writer and all those who think like him that I am not in a position to avail myself of their advice. But this much I can promise that the moment I discover that I was wrong I will in all humility confess the wrong and also make for it all the amends possible. Let me also admit that my error, if an error it is found to be in the long run, would be deemed to be no light one as I shall in that event have been guilty of committing an irreligious act—be it in ignorance—in the name of religion. Such a thing would be reprehensible in anybody; in me not the least. For I know that for good or for evil, my conduct is likely to influence many. I have thus a full sense of my responsibility.

But whilst I have not the slightest desire to minimize my responsibility in the matter, I believe that if in spite of the best of intentions one is led into committing mistakes, they do not really result in harm to the world or, for the matter of that, any individual. God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended errors of men who live in fear of Him. Those who are likely to be misled by my example would have gone that way all the same even if they had not known of my action. For in the final analysis a man is guided in his conduct by his own inner promptings, though the example of others might sometimes *seem* to guide him. But be it as it may, I know that the world has never had to suffer on account of my errors because they were all due to my ignorance. It is my firm belief that not one of my known errors was wilful. Indeed what may appear to be an obvious error to one may appear to another as pure wisdom. He cannot help himself even if he is under a hallucination. Truly has Tulsidas said:

> Even though there never is silver in mother-o'pearl nor water in the sunbeams, while the illusion of silver in the shining shell or that of water in the beams lasts, no power on earth can shake the deluded man free from the spell.

Even so must it be with men like me who, it may be, are labouring under a great hallucination. Surely, God will pardon them and the world should bear with them. Truth will assert itself in the end.

Regarding the Monkeys

The other question touched by "A young heart" in his letter is regarding the monkeys. He writes:

> All that I wish to write regarding the monkeys is that you will, pray, not entertain the idea of killing them even in a dream. If they threaten your crops you may adopt such measures for keeping them from mischief as other farmers do, as for instance pelting them with stones, shouting, etc., but for heaven's sake do not recommend their killing for a paltry few measures of grain. It would be wanton selfishness to compass such destruction for a trifling gain. There cannot be two opinions in this matter: Hindus will always regard your action as *himsa* pure and simple. It is only on such occasions that one's ahimsa is put to the test. Is it not monstrous to deprive a fellow-creature of life for the sake of a miserable little crop? What selfishness and what cruelty! How can such an iniquitous suggestion proceed from your lips at all? Well, you may by your superior brute force kill the monkeys but remember you will have to pay the price for it one day, and before the Great White Throne all your subtle arguments will avail you nothing. In the name of mercy, therefore, I humbly beseech you not to besmirch your hands by such cruel deeds.

That this question should be put to me in this way at this late hour of the day surprises me. I have already admitted that there would be violence in killing the monkeys. But what these professors of ahimsa do not seem to realize is that even so there is *himsa* in stoning or otherwise torturing them. By restricting the meaning of ahimsa to non-killing we make room for nameless cruelties in this country and bring the fair name of ahimsa into disrepute and if we continue like this we shall as a nation soon forfeit our proud title as specialists in ahimsa. What I want is not only to be saved from killing the monkeys but from stoning or otherwise hurting them as well. That is why I have invited suggestions from such readers of this journal as believe in ahimsa. But instead of helping me, most readers have responded only by bombarding me with angry criticisms without even troubling to read my articles, much less to understand them; and even "A young heart" has not been able to avoid this pitfall. I can understand an honest difference of opinion, but what can be the use

of advice based on assumptions not in the least warranted by my writings?

THE HINDU-MUSLIM QUESTION

The third question adverted to by "A young heart" is that of Hindu-Muslim unity. I cull the following sentences from his observations:

> Thinking that your efforts at establishing Hindu-Muslim unity have proved fruitless you are sitting with your lips almost sealed in this matter. That does not seem to me to be right. You may keep your silence on the question of unity, but do not you think that it is your duty to ascertain facts whenever there is a communal disturbance and after full consideration to express your opinion on merits? You may not take an active part but how will it injure the interests of the country if after giving an impartial hearing to both the sides you frankly speak to whomsoever might appear guilty in your eyes? The attitude that you have taken up with regard to the Godhra riot and Surat is, to be frank, hardly proper. Where is your valour gone now which you displayed abundantly on other occasions by calling a spade a spade? Good God! I am really surprised at this attitude of yours. I humbly ask you to advise the Hindus, if they cannot observe ahimsa as defined by you, to fight, in self-defence, those who assault or murder them and their dear ones without cause.

I have already explained my position in this matter. I trust it is not out of fear that I do not air my views on this subject nowadays. But when it may be out of place for me to write or when I have not sufficient material to form an opinion or when the matter does not fall within my province, I consider it to be my duty to maintain silence. At present neither of the two parties is prepared to accept my solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. There is therefore no occasion for me to express my opinion.

There remains the question of expressing opinion on the riots that have taken place or might take place in the future. When the subject itself, as I have already pointed out, has gone out of my province, there can be no question of my expressing an opinion on events that may arise. Again, if I proceed to express opinion on such matters before scrutinizing what both the parties might have to say on them, my conduct would be justly held to be improper and even impertinent. There would also be the danger of my misjudging. And how can I set out to make an inquiry into a question when I know that I have no ready solution for it?

Let no one however run away with the idea, from this, that I have washed my hands of this question for good. I am simply biding my time like an expert physician who has faith in his remedy. It is my firm belief that mine alone is the sovereign remedy for this seemingly incurable communal disease and that in the end one or both the parties will willy-nilly accept my cure.

In the mean time those who want will fight, in spite of whatever I might say. Nor do they need any prompting from me. This I have said repeatedly; I do not want any cowardice in our midst. The heroism of ahimsa cannot be developed from cowardice. Bravery is essential to both *himsa* and ahimsa. In fact it is even more essential in the latter for ahimsa is nothing if it is not the acme of bravery.

Young India, 3-1-1929

168. HOW TO MEET BASE INNUENDOES[1]

What should a public worker holding a responsible position in public life do if he is subjected to dishonest and malicious innuendoes or is falsely accused of misappropriation of public funds? Should he bring an action for libel against his calumniator in a law-court? Will it not be his duty as a responsible public worker to do so, and is it not likely that if he fails to do so some unwary people would be deceived? And if one may in no circumstance bring an action in a law-court, is there not a real danger that unscrupulous persons might take shelter behind a brazen silence and defy public scrutiny into their malpractices while pretending to follow your advice? Again if recourse to law-courts must be ruled out altogether, does it not follow that some other remedy against the evil of unrestrained libel should be found?

These are some of the questions arising out of the case of a prominent public worker that I have been called upon to answer. My reply is that slander and misrepresentation have always been the lot of public men. The way to overcome the opponent is by non-resistance and that is the remedy needed in the present case. Nor is a successful action in the law-court by any means a conclusive proof of a man's innocence, for do we not meet everyday instances of scoundrels who use the certificates of law-courts as a cloak to hide their sins and to continue with impunity their

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 2-12-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

practices? Again can any penalty that a law-court may inflict stop the poison of evil tongues from spreading? Would not what was said openly before be now, for fear of penalty, propagated secretly and in whispers and thus be rendered all the more insidious? My advice, therefore, generally speaking, is that one should take no notice of baseless and malicious imputations, but pity the calumniator and always hope and pray for his ultimate conversion. As for the public it can always take care of itself against dishonest servants. Corruption will be out one day however much one may try to conceal it, and the public can, as it is its right and duty, in every case of justifiable suspicion, call its servants to strict account, dismiss them, sue them in a law-court, or appoint an arbitrator or inspector to scrutinize their conduct, as it likes. Therefore instead of suing one's calumniator in a law-court for false allegations of corruption, the best and the only right course would be for the public to prevent actual corruption from taking place by maintaining a sleepless vigilance and for the servant to keep the public on the *qui vive*.

If this course is found to be insufficient and some further action is felt to be necessary, the author of a libel can be called upon to bring his charge before a *panchayat*. The aggrieved party can offer at the same time to appear before it to vindicate its position. Of course this remedy would be useless when the calumniator is an altogether unscrupulous person. For he will never agree to appear before the *panchayat*. But where allegations are made by respectable persons offering to produce evidence in support, reference to a *panchayat* would be found to be most useful.

'But what about the villain who fakes a silent *hauteur* to mask his villainy,' one may ask. My reply is that if the people are vigilant and wide awake such a person will not be able to maintain his mask for long, while, if on the other hand they allow their vigilance to go to sleep, not all the law-courts in the world will be able to prevent the practice of villainy. For we daily see how law is unable to touch gentlemen rascals dressed in spotless white, and going about in motor-cars. The fact is, as Carlyle has observed, that the fool and the scoundrel go always hand in hand. Where there is one the other is bound to be. But a true and just man need not worry on that account. Let him remember and ponder over what Dadu has sung:

> My reviler is like a respected and dear brother unto me.
> He labours for my good for nothing,
> And helps to purge me of my countless sins

And comes to my aid without expectation of reward.
He loses his own soul but that of others he saves;
He is my dear friend — my saviour;
O Ramdev, pray to God for his long life — may he live for ever.
My reviler is my greatest benefactor, says Dadu,
For he brings home to me my littleness.

It is enough if one is true to one's own self: one can then safely let the "turbid streams of rumour flow".

Young India, 6-12-1928

169. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 2, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You are right in what you say about labour and your method of counting the payment is also correct. When such paid labour is required, those who can put off their other work may offer to do such labour after finishing the work which they do as sacrifice. They may let go their study on that day and utilize the time in labour. The labour which they put in should be of a useful nature, otherwise it would amount to our giving them some charity out of the Ashram funds.

Here, too, it has rained. They say it is normal in this part. You did right when, having missed the post, you did not send a telegram and thereby saved 12 annas.

My letter had two sheets only. You should not have found the continuity broken at any point. I put down the figure 3 for the third page. I do not write the page number on the back, but keep it in mind.

I know that the cloth-lined envelope is very costly. I have not succeeded in getting Subbiah, Pyarelal and Mahadev to use it, but this is how it should be used. It should be opened with a knife and closed every time with a fresh slip of thick paper. On the side on which the address is written, a piece of thick paper should be pasted afresh every time. If used thus, we can make such an envelope last a long time. Do you not know that in prisons some such device is followed in order to save expenditure even on ordinary covers?

If you are not troubled by the question raised by Shankerlal, I certainly am not. If Narandas works in obedience to you

and the organizational set-up, our purpose and that of the organization will be met. When Shankerlal raises the question with me, I shall discuss it. The question before me is not how to satisfy him but how to satisfy you. You should be able to do your work smoothly and may ask me for whatever help you need for that purpose.

It was good news that Shankerbhai has recovered. Tell him that he should not fall ill again.

Have you given any sewing work to Gangadevi? If you have not, please do.

I got today's post in the afternoon. Chi. Narandas is upset. I send his letters to you. If all of you agree, let them all remain [in the Ashram] on the basis suggested by Chi. Narandas and let Radha's name be counted for payment. I have objection against this arrangement, too, but I do not wish to be obstinate. I would certainly not hurt Narandas.

I thought it was decided to retain Shanabhai. If there is nothing more than suspicion against him, it would not be proper to ask him to leave.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 18-9

170. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. C. ROY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
[*December 3, 1928*][1]

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

RECEIVED LETTER WHICH IS VARIANCE WITH PUBLISHED REPORTS ABOUT EXHIBITION. SEEMS TO ME TOO LATE NOW FOR ASSOCIATION DO JUSTICE TO EXHIBITION. BUT AM LIFTING BAN LOOK TO YOU SEE LOCAL KHADI ORGANIZATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13316

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", 3-12-1928.

171. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
[December 3, 1928][1]

KHADISTHAN
CALCUTTA

RECEIVED OFFICIAL LETTER ABOUT EXHIBITION LIFTING BAN. YOU MAY ARRANGE KHADI COURT IF POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13318

172. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD

[December 3, 1928][2]

CHARKHA
AHMEDABAD

HAVE JUST RECEIVED OFFICIAL LETTER. THOSE EXHIBITORS WHO WISH MAY ATTEND. MAKING PRESS STATEMENT[3].

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13317

173. TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER[4]

[December 3, 1928]

BANKER
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

ASSOCIATION BHANDARS SHOULD EXHIBIT IF THEY CAN.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13307

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", 3-12-1928.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Free Press and Associated Press", 3-12-1928.
[4] In reply to his telegram received on December 3 at Wardha; *vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-12-1928.

174. TELEGRAM TO FREE PRESS AND ASSOCIATED PRESS

[*December 3, 1928*][1]

FREE PRESS, ASSOCIATED PRESS

VIEW BENGAL COMMITTEE'S DECISION GANDHIJI ADVISES THOSE KHADI ORGANIZATIONS PARTAKE CONGRESS EXHIBITION WHO CAN DURING SHORT TIME LEFT DO SO.

From a photostat: S.N. 13319

175. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 3, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Your letter makes sad reading. It is remarkable you accuse me of not having dealt fairly by the Committee whereas I should be the accuser. I had felt that I had shown the most delicate consideration to the Committee and in the attempt had suppressed myself. Lest at the last moment the Committee might feel offended, I have forced myself on your attention and tried to argue with you all and then to let you decide what you liked without exposing you to any criticism from me in the Press.

But to business now. If the published reports are true, your letter is not. Here is a tit-bit. The Exhibition authorities have approached all local Governments for exhibits! But perhaps you do not know what has happened.

Nor do I like this deference to Panditji's wishes. I have promised that I shall attend the Congress in any event. Why should the Committee not work out its policy unhampered by personal considerations? Why should there be a public misunderstanding because I do not attend the Exhibition or the A.I.S.A. is not represented?

But there it is. You have rescinded your previous resolution. I have therefore wired to you and the Secretary of the A.I.S.A. as also Satis Babu, the Bengal Agent. I do not know how far it will

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-12-1928.

be possible to organize the khaddar court. You will please now get hold of Satis Babu and other workers and do whatever is possible.

My grief was there. Your decision and letter have not eased it. There is an unreality about the whole thing. O God, lead us from the unreal to the Real.

There is nothing personal in this letter. It is the outpouring of a troubled soul.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13758

176. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

December 3, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have all your letters. The whole affair is bad. But we must not resist. Therefore I have wired you.[1] Please inform the other centres. You should now do whatever is possible. I have sent a wire[2] to Shankerlal too and issued a brief Press message[3]. Here are copies of correspondence.

No more today but love of which you will need now much.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8921

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-12-1928.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Shankerlal Banker", 3-12-1928.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Free Press and Associated Press", 3-12-1928.

177. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

WARDHA,
December 3, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

My love to you. It was all done bravely. You have braver things to do. May God spare you for many a long year to come and make you His chosen instrument for freeing India from yoke.[1]

Yours,
BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 68

178. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

WARDHA,
Silence Day, December 3, 1928

SISTERS,

I have your letter written by Gangabehn. There is some point in what you say about the noise. But the responsibility for it lies not only with the children but also with the adults. Again, it should not be difficult for you to observe silence or to make the children observe silence while dining or working. The main point is this: You should not think that if there is no talking, time will hang heavily while dining or working; or that the children cannot be kept quiet. There are millions of men who do their work quietly. You know, do you not?, that labourers in big factories are forced to keep silent while working. Why cannot we voluntarily do what they have to do under compulsion?

Hereafter Kakasaheb will be with you once a week. Do you still insist on Valjibhai too coming there? If I press him, he will come; but I know that he is always too busy and so, as a rule, I do not like to put any more burden upon him, if I can help it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3683

[1] Explaining this in his book, Jawaharlal Nehru had written: "I think this letter was written soon after the incident at Lucknow when many of us demonstrated peacefully against the arrival of the Simon Commission there. We were severely beaten by the baton and lathi blows of the police."

179. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Silence Day [December 3, 1928][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. You are busy doing more work even than when you were in the [Udyoga] Mandir. I am happy that you are doing it in the right spirit. Write to me when you can.

I have sent Harker's article for inclusion. She asks questions about *Young India*. I suggest that you yourself should reply to her.

As for other news, please be satisfied with what Pyarelal and Subbiah tell you in their letters.

I have read your note and understood the views you express in it. I am certainly not unhappy that you do not write[2] or spin. I would feel hurt if I thought that you were not doing something through lethargy. A sincere person may or may not do a particular thing, it is all the same. I include you among such sincere persons.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Send on the accompanying letter to Manilal at his present address.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11445

180. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

WARDHA,
December 3, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

Sushila has asked us to suggest a name for the baby girl. But Nanabhai has already cabled the name and, therefore, there is no need to give her another name. The name "Dhairyabala" is also a good one. It requires many other virtues to be able to

[1] From the reference to Emma Harker's article "The Lion of the Punjab" which appeared in *Young India*, 6-12-1928. The preceding Silence Day was on 3-12-1928.

[2] That is, keep a diary; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai," 30-11-1928.

cultivate patience[1] which has no taint of lethargy in it. Bhartrihari described patience as father. "He whose father is patience and mother is forbearance, whose wife is undisturbed peace of mind", etc. If you do not know the full verse, please let me know and I will give you the text.

Tara and Shanti were here for four days. I met Nanabhai on the way [to Wardha]. Kishorelal will stay for the present at Vileparle.

With me are Ba, Pyarelal, Subbiah and Chhotelal. Mahadev has had to go and stay at Bardoli.

We are all right, all of us.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If you can, collect contributions there for the Lalaji Memorial Fund.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4745

181. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [December 3, 1928][2]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I get your letters regularly. I am writing to Babuji[3] about you.

Are the children regular in coming to Bal Mandir? Are they attentive? Has Bimla fully recovered now?

I think it is time for you to leave for Dwarka.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3338

[1] *Dhairya* means 'patience'.

[2] From the reference to Prabhavati's proposed trip to Dwarka; *vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", 9-12-1928.

[3] Brij Kishore Prasad

182. *MY NOTES*

December 4, 1928

LALAJI MEMORIAL

The reports that I have received while writing this (on the 4th December) are hopeful. By contributing Rs. 15,000 on his own behalf at the Wardha meeting, Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla has made a good beginning. A committee consisting of worthy persons has been formed in the Punjab and it hopes to collect a good amount. I hope that Gujarat and the Gujaratis will as usual contribute a share which will be worthy of them. If we have genuine feelings for the "Lion of the Punjab", if we accept the worthiness of this Memorial and if we have confidence in those who have formulated the scheme for this Fund as well as in the trustees, it should not take long for it to be fully subscribed. And it is a matter of prestige for us that not much time should elapse before this is done. Hence it is my hope that Gujarat will pay up whatever is to be subscribed as soon as possible. The students of Shraddhanandji's Gurukul had years ago, by sending for the South Africa struggle Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 earned as wages for working as labourers, answered the question of what should be done in such cases by students and salaried workers, who do not have large sums of money to spare and are hardly able to make both ends meet. Some can contribute their share by working as labourers, while for those who are unable to do so, or though being able do not find such an opportunity, the way is open on such occasions to give up certain pleasures for a specific period of time. If they are addicted to anything, they can save money by giving up their addiction for a short or long period or they may give up an item of food, as was done by the women-teachers and girls of Kanya Gurukul in Dehra Dun at the time of the struggle in Bardoli. Hence there are many ways open to those who wish to contribute to this Fund. We have formed an evil habit that we do not contribute anything until someone approaches us for funds. It is to be hoped that no one will wait for people to approach him for donations in the case of a memorial for a patriot like Lalaji.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-12-1928

183. LETTER TO ACHYUTANAND PUROHIT

WARDHA,
December 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also your telegram. I have not said anything to you because I am unable to fix the date. It will be somewhere between the 20th and 23rd instant.

There will be besides my wife three or four with me about whom you need not worry to make any special arrangements. They will stay where you put me up. No special arrangements are necessary for me either. I would like you to save every pice you can of the funds that you may collect. You need not send for any fruit for me. Ordinary simple food will do. All that you may arrange to have ready is two pounds of goat's milk. One thing I do need is a commode kept in a clean place. You will please not send for any fruit from Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13009

184. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 4, 1928

MY DEAR PADMAJA,

You must not mind this dictated letter. It is better that I dictate than that I delay writing to you. What on earth are you doing with your health? Is it not more your mind that is at fault? Why can't you make up your mind to be and remain healthy? This set-back in your health is bound to trouble the poor old songstress[2] in America. You must become a good daughter.

SHRIMATI PADMAJA NAIDU
HYDERABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13013

[1] In reply to her letter dated November 16, which read: "I have been very bad for the last fortnight" (S.N. 13001).

[2] Sarojini Naidu

185. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

WARDHA,
December 4, 1928

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I have just received your letter. If you want an early date and if it is convenient I suggest Thursday next at 4 p.m., i.e., 6th instant; if that day is not convenient, 11th Tuesday at 4 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. S. MOONJE
NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13014

186. LETTER TO H. M. JAGANNATH

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The signatories to the appeal propose to raise five lakhs to be utilized for the promotion of the political activities of Lala Lajpat Rai. These naturally include the welfare of the suppressed classes. You may know that some workers of Lalaji are devoting their energy exclusively to the service of the suppressed classes.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. H. M. JAGANNATH
PRESIDENT
THE ALL-INDIA ARUNDHATEEYA CENTRAL SABHA, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13016

187. LETTER TO SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH

WARDHA,
December 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. You will note that I have not said one word as yet about the appointment and I propose to retain my silence as long as I can.

Yours sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH KHAN BAHADUR, C.I.E.
MEMBER, VICEROY'S COUNCIL, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15094

188. LETTER TO SECRETARY, KHALSA DIWAN SOCIETY, VANCOUVER

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 4, 1928

THE SECRETARY, KHALSA DIWAN SOCIETY
SIKH TEMPLE, VANCOUVER B.C.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. We were all wondering what this money was for and from whom.[1] I now enclose receipt for the amount which will be utilized as desired by you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15116

[1] The addressee had sent Rs. 1,000 for the Bardoli struggle without specifying for what purpose it should be spent. Meanwhile the struggle had come to a successful conclusion. Thereupon he wrote that the money might be used for relief of those who suffered during the struggle in Bardoli.

189. LETTER TO SIR JAGDISH CHANDRA BOSE

WARDHA,
December 5, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am stupid and live as in a well not knowing what goes on outside its walls. I came to know of your birthday only yesterday. Though late, pray let me add my greetings to the many you have received. May you be spared long to enable India to share your ever-increasing power and greatness.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 8736

190. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 5, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS,

I got your letter. I understand the position about honey. I have been witnessing good evidence of our economic, physical and intellectual poverty.

You have thought more than I have about methods of khadi propaganda. If you get financial help in your efforts, you will be able to do better work. That is, you will be able to look after the khadi work in the whole country. See that you acquire excellent health. Instead of remaining in Bombay and getting crushed under the burden of work there, you should better go to Matheran and improve your health. I trust you are not grieving over Velabehn's passing away. Remember Narasinh Mehta's utterance: "Welcome the snapping of the bond, I shall cultivate *bhakti* for Shri Gopal the more easily."

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9765

191. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Wednesday [December 5, 1928][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I can get no time at all to write to you. But you should not behave as if you, too, had resolved not to write this time.

Do you remember I gave you a wire about Surajbehn's husband to be sent to Karsandas? I am sure I gave it to someone. But Karsandas does not seem to have received it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I could not send to you any matter from *Young India*. From the articles which appear you may translate any which seem to you worth translating and inform me immediately.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11441

192. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Wednesday, December 5, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. I expect to get from you detailed news about the Ashram. Does the kitchen run punctually? Is the noise less? Does everybody help Gangabehn? Is anyone ill? How does Balbir behave? How does Padma fare?

You want to hear about me. If I get some time, I would certainly write. As it happens, however, I get no time here even to talk with anyone. I keep Pyarelal also very busy with work, so he too cannot spare time. Be patient for a while.

Prabhavati must have left now, and so I do not write to her.

[1] From the reference to Mahadev Desai's failure to send the wire to Karsandas (*vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 9-12-1928.), it is evident that this letter was written before the other.

If I knew that Vidyavati[1] was there, I would have written to her. If she is there tell her that she ought not to fall ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1762

193. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Wednesday [December 5, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I would advise you to show to Narandas all the letters I write to you. This will make your path easy and will help him too. I have written to him advising him that he should not keep aloof.

If Santokbehn wishes to leave for Rajkot, let her do so. You may certainly see her and try to dissuade her. I shall be happy if she likes the Ashram atmosphere and decides to stay on. But I would not like her staying in such a condition of mind that I would have to strive every day to keep her pleased and contented.

It is natural and desirable that one's relations should become one's co-workers in national work. The difficulty comes only when the motive is of self-interest. Once we are convinced that we are pursuing no personal interest, we can invite all our relations to join us; if they do join, it will be only to offer themselves as oblations in a sacrifice.

Rama's co-workers were his relations, and so were Yudhishthira's. The co-workers of Prophet Mahomed, too, were his relations. Jesus's co-workers included a brother of his. Lord Salisbury had surrounded himself with relations. When he was criticized for that, his reply was: "If not my relations, whom else shall I sacrifice? In whom, if not in them, should I put my trust? If I had more relations who were worthy of the honour, I would sacrifice them too. For me, this is a sacrifice and not a means of amassing wealth."

Balfour was a relation of Lord Salisbury's. We find innumerable instances of a contrary nature, too, in which relations are fixed up in places to help them serve themselves. The upshot

[1] Prabhavati's sister, daughter-in-law of Rajendra Prasad

[2] From the reference to "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 29-11-1928. Wednesday following November 29 fell on this date.

of this is that to one who is prompted by unselfish motives, relations and non-relations are the same. When one is prompted by selfish motives, what difference does it make if the co-workers are not relations? Even so, all of us, as you say in your letter, should be careful. I am convinced that my experiment has not cost me anything. You may also believe this to be true about our equals. In our country, equals cannot easily work together, because the spirit of self-sacrifice has not yet been fully developed.

I have not understood exactly your question about the goshala. You will have to explain it further before I understand it.

We should let Lahoriram stay with us as long as he is not confined to bed and goes his way. It will be another matter if he cannot control his palate. If we are convinced that he is a good man, we cannot send away a person who has joined us. The case would have been different if we had not admitted him when he first came.

It should be enough if we keep ourselves ready to lay down our lives when robbers raid the Ashram. God will preserve our honour. The best thing would be that one of our men should go and work among the robbers.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised the letter after writing it. The envelope arrived yesterday in a torn condition. It should have been tied up with a string.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 16-8

194. NOTES

'HER EYES AS OUR EYES'

Mr. N. M. Bell is the joint editor of a tiny monthly called the *International Sunbeam* published at 2 shillings per annum at 59 Mary's Road, Christchurch. He has favoured me with a copy of his monthly which contains the following interesting article.[1]

> *India sees life through different windows than we do; but her eyes are as our eyes, and she has the same desires as we have.*

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

Total-world-disarmament, the only material safeguard of peace, should be the outward and visible sign of that inward mental disarmament on which alone outward peace can rest secure. So long, however, as one people is actually subjecting another to itself by superior military might, even the very first step towards this inward mental disarmament has not been taken.

What has this got to do with India? Everything.

When the Russian delegates made their historic proposals for total world disarmament before the Special Disarmament Committee of the League of Nations, what really prevented Great Britain from agreeing? India. In India are some 70,000 British troops and some 1,40,000 native levies, costing some £70,000,000 a year keeping some 350,000,000 Indians subject to British rule. When the Egyptians make their periodic attempt to secure peaceably the independence of their country from British domination, what prevents Britain from granting their request? India. The Suez Canal is the main route to India.

Disarmament would mean to Great Britain the loss of the 'brightest jewel' in the British imperial crown . . . It is a disagreeable saying, but true, that *empires rest on armaments*. . . .

Young India, 6-12-1928

195. ITS GORY CAREER[1]

The certificate granted by the Punjab Government to the police seems to have emboldened the Lucknow police to outdo the Punjab police in the free use of the baton and the spear. The Lucknow police seem according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to have even used brickbats in order to disperse an utterly innocent crowd. Granted that the processionists were defying orders supposed to be legal, the police, I hold, were not justified in charging the processionists unless injury on the part of the latter to person or property was imminent. I rely implicitly on Pandit Jawaharlal's narrative. According to it the crowd was orderly and well behaved. It was not out to do any harm to anybody. Its motive was known to be a peaceful demonstration against the entry into Lucknow of a Commission that has been imposed upon the people against their will. The exercise by the police of punitive powers in such circumstances was arbitrary, uncalled for and brutal. The behaviour of the crowd in the face of this provocation and in the face of a cowardly assault upon

[1] *Vide* also "The Blood-stained Path", 9-12-1928.

their chosen leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his companions was amazingly exemplary. Their self-restraint was as great as their leaders'. I claim that no crowd outside India would have retained the calmness that the Lucknow crowd did.

But this calmness is probably mistaken for cowardice by the brave Commissioners who under the protecting wing of an armed police seem to be bent upon continuing their blood-red progress. Innocent blood was spilt in the Punjab and severer injuries seem to have been inflicted by the police in Lucknow on an equally innocent crowd. Two men are said to have been so badly injured as to be in danger of losing their lives. Difficult as the conduct of the English Commissioners is to understand, that of their subordinate Indian colleagues is still more difficult to understand. They do not seem to perceive the widening gulf between them and the people whom they are supposed to represent and whom (some of them flower of the nation) they are content to see trampled under horses' hoofs, charged with batons and driven with spearheads like cattle for the heinous offence of daring to demonstrate against this unwelcome Commission.

Well did the enraged father and patriot Pandit Motilal Nehru give a warning to the Government, that "if a violent disturbance takes place in this city or any other part of the country, the responsibility for that would fall upon such officials as misbehaved themselves for the last three days at Lucknow". My fear is that the Government do not mind, if they would not actually welcome, such a disturbance. If a disturbance takes place, they will have another opportunity of showing the red claws of the British Lion and of terrorizing a docile people into abject submission to their imperious will.

For if the Government do not desire an outbreak of violence on the part of the people and if the Commission will persist in their peregrinations, they should notify to the latter that they should instead of going from place to place summon witnesses to a central place and finish their work. But such wisdom and a consideration for popular will are hardly to be expected of the Government.

The duty before the people is clear, to continue their non-violence in the face of the gravest provocation. Then one may safely regard these great demonstrations as so many lessons in non-violence preparatory to the final struggle in which people will willingly and valiantly lay down their lives without the slightest retaliation. That day is fast coming, faster than most of us imagine. So far as I can see, sacrifice of precious lives will have

to be made before we come to our own, whether in a struggle wholly non-violent or predominantly violent. I am hoping and praying that non-violence will be maintained even up to the last heat.

Young India, 6-12-1928

196. "FAULT OF MAN"

> I know it is very easy of us to give advice; but only those who live amongst the nuisance can realize how destructive monkeys are, and as one who has suffered some small loss at their small, mischievous hands I can sympathize.
>
> And yet is it the fault of man or monkeys — this impasse? Why do monkeys come into the cities, near the dwelling places of men, risking, poor wretches, their lives, and the lives of their dearly loved babies for food?
>
> Said an official to me just recently at Mt. Abu: "The monkeys are too dreadful a nuisance, and yet we are not allowed to shoot them. They get worse and worse every year, I wonder why."
>
> And yet the reason is obvious. From every jungle tree, Jamboo, Karenda and Bod, we see man, with perfect disregard for everything but his own selfish purposes, stripping the trees of their fruit *to the last berry*.
>
> The Bhils of Abu take down hundreds and hundreds of baskets, one sees them rotting at Abu Road.
>
> The sahibs' butlers have learnt to make Karenda jam; it costs only the sugar and the picking.
>
> Man encroaches ruthlessly on the rights of animals and birds, but punishes with severity any encroachment by them on *his* supreme rights.
>
> Do the gods treat men thus? I see in the misery that presses on man . . . the awful reckoning due to this continual encroachment on the privileges of bird and animal.
>
> It is nature's retribution: a retribution that has already come to the sailors on ships who shot the 'Stormy Petrel' whose appearance warned them of storms, shot them to extinction. Men destroyed birds in thousands and saw their dear ones in the grip of the malarial mosquito whose larvae are now too many for man's scope.

Thus writes a fair correspondent who is a lover of bird and beast. Unfortunately for me she adds to my difficulty, does not solve it. Knowing the wrongs done by my kind, am I to give up agriculture and seek the cave, or am I to prevent the monkeys' encroachment? The natural consequence of her reasoning which

I do not deny is that the monkeys should have full play of my garden, in other words I should grow for them what my fellowman has robbed them of!!!

Young India, 6-12-1928

197. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Panditji is anxious that I should be by his side as early as possible after his arrival in Calcutta and that I should be staying as near him as possible. He now wires saying that the Reception Committee has arranged to accommodate both of us under the same roof. As you know I have always a large party with me. I am sure therefore that it would be inconvenient for the Reception Committee to accommodate that party under the same roof as Panditji's. I therefore suggest that you reserve a little accommodation for me so that if necessary I may detach myself from my party and stay with Panditji. But if the Committee does not mind, I propose to accept the offer of Sjt. Jiwanlal to accommodate the whole of my party. I have accordingly telegraphed to you today.

I do not know to whom I should really write officially. If necessary therefore you will pass on this letter to the proper quarters.

As at present arranged I reach Calcutta on the morning of the 23rd by Calcutta Mail.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13312

198. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

I have your letter. Thank you for the consideration underlying it. But I have no choice about volunteers. Any volunteer would do.

I have written to Dr. Bidhan Roy[1] already saying that while some accommodation might be reserved for me under the same roof as Motilalji's, seeing that he wants me near by him, I am accepting the invitation of Sjt. Jiwanlal for myself and party to be accommodated by him. My party would be really too unwieldy for you to take care of and not all of them would need to be taken care of.

Mohanlal Bhoot may attach himself to me as he has always done so.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
1 WOODBURN PARK, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13313

199. LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

I have sent you a telegram today about Sambalpur. I leave here on the 20th by passenger and reach Sambalpur on the 21st evening, and leave Sambalpur on the 22nd evening. No great preparations about my comforts need be made. Only goat's milk might be made available. No fruits are to be brought from Calcutta.

I send you now translation of a letter from Sjt. Jethalal Govindji. You have known him through the columns of *Young India*. He is the organizer of the Bijolia centre on the self-sufficiency plan. I would like you to read his letter side by side with the figures

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

you gave me in one of your letters which I reproduced in *Young India*[1] and tell me where he has erred.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 13762

200. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

You must have got my telegram[2] about the Exhibition. The whole thing is finished now. You will do what you can. I wonder if they are giving you a free hand.

I reach Sambalpur on the 21st instant, leave there on the 22nd and reach Calcutta 23rd Mail. I shall have to put up with Jiwanlal. Panditji wants me to be available at Calcutta from the 23rd and I am anxious to give him all the help that I can. He is shouldering a tremendous burden.

As you know Sjt. Birla has been with me all these days and we have been discussing many matters, khadi, etc. I suggested to him that he should take up all surplus khadi to relieve the congestion wherever there may be, so as not to interfere with production. He entertains the idea favourably and may make a cautious beginning at once.

He asked me whether, if he made the beginning with Calcutta and started a khadi shop where he could collect khadi from all parts of India, whether you would not object. I told him that in the circumstances placed by me before him, there was not likely to be any objection on your part.

I have revived my original idea of pooling the prices. But you will consider this proposition and if you think that there is any objection, you will please let me know.

Mahavir Prasad whom perhaps you know and who is a very enthusiastic honest worker and who is at present in Gorakhpur has offered to undertake the responsibility of running the new store for Sjt. Birla. He is proceeding today to Calcutta. I have

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 231-3.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-12-1928.

asked him to see you and discuss things with you. This letter will be in your hands 24 hours after he reaches there.

I hope you and Hemprabhadevi are keeping quite fit in spite of the strain that both of you must be undergoing.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13762

201. LETTER TO R. VENKATRAM

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

MY DEAR VENKATRAM,

I have your letter and the issues of your journal. You fairly guessed my general view about journalistic ventures. If you watched me working for full 24 hours, you would have pity on me and not ask me to read any journal quite apart from my attitude. Much as I should like to, I am much obliged to deny myself the pleasure of reading the literature that is pouring upon me from all sides. You will please therefore excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. VENKATRAM
EDITOR, "INDIAN STATES JOURNAL"
EMPIRE BUILDING, FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13763

202. LETTER TO ACHYUTANAND PUROHIT

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I telegraphed to you today as I was able to fix the date of departure only today. I hope to leave Wardha by the passenger train on the 20th instant reaching Jarsuguda at 13.53 in the afternoon of the 21st instant. There is a train according to your letter immediately after from Jarsuguda for Sambalpur and I should leave Sambalpur the evening of the next day (22nd instant).

That gives a day and a half which I hope is quite enough. I must reach Calcutta on the 23rd instant.

I am unable to give you the number and names of the party that will accompany me, because I am not yet sure whom I should take with me. But you may take it that there will be at least three with me including my wife.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13764

203. LETTER TO WILLIAM I. HULL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

The Secretary of the Ashram, now Udyoga Mandir, has forwarded your letter to me. I shall be delighted to meet you and Mrs. Hull in Calcutta some time after the 23rd instant. My address in Calcutta will be: C/o Sjt. Jiwanlalbhai, 44 Ezra Street, Calcutta, where perhaps you would enquire about the time we can meet.

Thanks. I had Miss Adam's introduction forwarded to me from Sabarmati.

There will be no difficulty to buy a visitor's ticket and this can be done after your arrival in Calcutta as you would be reaching Calcutta early enough for making all arrangements. The Congress meets as you know on the 29th instant.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13765

204. LETTER TO WILLIAM SMITH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

When I was in Bangalore you kindly gave me the names of some trustworthy and well-trained young men who could be had for starting dairies. I have not got the correspondence with me and it may be that the young men whose names you gave are already suited. Could you oblige me with giving me such names and their addresses and their requirements if you know them again?

Having received their names I shall put myself in touch with them. I want at least two.

I await your observations upon the little experiment I am conducting at Sabarmati.

I am in Wardha till 20th instant, after which my address for the rest of the month will be 44, Ezra Street, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM SMITH, ESQ.
IMPERIAL DAIRY EXPERT, BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13766

205. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

WARDHA,
December 6, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I see nothing suspicious in the fact that Chi. Santok retained those bills with her against the price of the wheat. I can understand how Chi. Narandas may have seen this in a different light.

The capacity for self-sacrifice of Chi. Santok and her children cannot be compared with yours or of anybody else. In such matters we can make no comparisons. The sacrifice by one person of all he possessed may seem insignificant in comparison with a small sacrifice by another person. It makes me unhappy that I do not get from Santok and hers as much as I had expected. This last episode, too, is painful. But in this case I do not wish to go further than Chi. Narandas would like and so I have loosened the reins. If, now, Radha works for payment, let her do so.

You, on your part, should always tell me what you think right and, in all matters in which you may exercise your freedom, you should do so. If you act thus, you will feel that your burden of responsibility has become much lighter. After having taken certain steps, never enter into a discussion about them with anyone. It is another matter if you explain the matter to me, when that is necessary. Instead of comparing yourself with anyone, consult your *antaratman*[1]; when that is pleased, when your actions or words are not prompted by partiality or aversion, have no fear at all.

[1] Inner self

About Shanabhai your decision should be accepted as final. I have written to Shankerlal to see you in connection with the weaving section and decide everything in consultation with you. It is three days since I wrote to him. I agree with your view of the matter. All that remains to consider is how to solve the difficulties that may arise in doing what you suggest. Since the problem has come up, I will solve it once for all.

The news that Kusumbehn still gets fever worries me. I think the fact that I have not brought her with me is also a contributory cause of the fever. Mental agitation aggravates every disease. I have observed that its effect is more pronounced in malaria and similar diseases. She has remained behind, though she was extremely eager this time to accompany me. I do believe that from her own and from every other point of view it was desirable that she should remain there. That is why I insisted that she should stay behind.

Here Chhotalal has once again been confined to bed. In his case, too, the mind has had an important share. He has made other mistakes too. The bakery here is ready, but the first lot of bread turned out was not good. How is bread-making progressing there?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 20-1

206. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

Thursday, December 6, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

How is this? Fever again? Mental agitation is certainly a contributory cause. I have even left with Ramniklalbhai some Italian pills. If they do not have an adverse effect on you, you should take them for some time. Many persons take these pills in place of quinine. You were probably present when Motilalji praised them. It was he who sent those with Ramniklalbhai. Use them and see if they help you. If you do not wish to take them, I believe you must take quinine for some days. If you take Kuhne bath at the same time, the toxic effects of quinine, if not altogether counteracted, will at any rate be mitigated. My further advice is that, till you are completely all right, that is, for ten days at least,

you should live only on milk and fruit. Spend as much as you like. In cases like yours, exclusion of fruit from the diet should be regarded as a crime. You know that during the first spell of fever also it was fruit which had helped you. I assume that you will do what I have suggested.

While the fever is on and as long as the weakness persists, do not be too eager to do physical work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1763

207. TELEGRAM TO KHADI SHOP, SRINAGAR

December 7, 1928

KHADI SHOP
SRINAGAR

YOUR WIRE. KHADI BHANDARS FREE TAKE PART EXHIBITION.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

208. TELEGRAM TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

December 7, 1928

BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. ACCEPT PRESIDENTSHIP ON CONDITION SAMMELAN MORE BUSINESSLIKE THAN SPECTACULAR.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

209. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

WARDHA,
December 7, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your two letters. The last enclosing a copy from Subhas Bose. But before he wrote I had already capitulated on the receipt of Dr. Bidhan's letter copy of which is in your possession together with my answer. You will have seen that I have also sent instructions to khadi organizations to take part in the Exhibition in so far as at this late time in the day, it is possible for them to do so.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILALJI NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13774

210. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

WARDHA,
December 7, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I know the difficulties you raise, but this is again a case of self-suppression. I have said my say. We simply take such part in the Exhibition as is possible and with such detachment as we are capable of.[1] It is quite clear that the Committee had expected to make a good deal out of mill-cloth exhibition and therefore it is a great thing from their standpoint to have done away with mill-cloth.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13775

[1] *Vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 13-12-1928.

211. LETTER TO AKSEL G. KNUDSEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I wish indeed that I could at once comply with your request. But it is really almost a physical impossibility. The word 'almost' is a polite superfluity. Whilst therefore you have my good wishes, you will please excuse me. But you may select anything you like from my writings for your journal.

Yours sincerely,

AKSEL G. KNUDSEN
BREDGADE
90 SKERN, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 13776

212. LETTER TO BHAGWAN DAS

December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I hope by proper treatment you may yet get rid of your tuberculosis.

I send you a copy of *Navajivan*. If you wish to become a subscriber, you can do so. And if you are able to read Gujarati, why do you not write in Gujarati?

We are trying here for freedom as much as possible.

Yours sincerely,

BHAGWAN DAS, ESQ.
C/O AUSTRALIA-INDIA LEAGUE
SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA

From a photostat: S.N. 15073

213. *LETTER TO CARLO LUCCARO*

December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I am sorry to have left upon you the impression when you came to see me that I was not pleased to receive you. You had come outside the time for visitors and therefore I was unable to give you much time.

Yours sincerely,

CARLO LUCCARO, ESQ.
TAORMINA
SICILY, ITALY

From a photostat: S.N. 15087

214. *LETTER TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH*

December 7, 1928

I have your letter subscribed also by Satyavan. Of course you will wear exactly what you like instead of my musts and must-nots. Do keep on smiling.

I am just now in Wardha. Mirabehn has come here to see me. She will presently be on the move again. Ba is with me. We are all well.

I hope both of you are happy there. You must be happy.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. FRANCISCA STANDENATH
GRAZ

From a photostat: S.N. 15091

215. LETTER TO KLAAS STORM

December 7, 1928

MY DEAR STORM[1],

Every letter that comes from you gives me delight and pleasure. I am so glad that you are getting on so well. I was delighted to have the card containing a portrait of your teacher and his family.

Do continue to write to me from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15107

216. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

December 7, 1928

MY DEAR BHAI,

I have your letter as also the contribution to the Maganlal Memorial. I do not know what other object to commend to your attention. There is of course the untouchability work and there is women'[s] work and there is the general national education work. There is tannery in terms of cow-protection, Hindi propaganda, agricultural improvement; these are the spending departments apart from the activities that can be properly called political. For me the foregoing constructive activities are an integral part of solid political work. The other, that is, the destructive type is absolutely useful and necessary, but it takes up the least part of my time.

What you tell me about Leon does surprise me. With the strictly abstemious life free of excitement that Millie lived when she was bearing Waldo and Leon and the hygienic and natural upbringing that the two boys had, I cannot understand the premature death of Waldo and the trouble with Leon. I suppose that the deadly poisonous atmosphere of London is responsible for shattering even such splendid constitutions as those of your boys. I am glad that Leon has recovered from the serious part of the disease and I hope that he will regain his hearing completely. How I wish it was possible to give Leon an open air life instead of the wretched solicitor's desk.

[1] A trainee in the House of Brotherhood in Holland, an institution which was opened to carry on peace propaganda by Kees Bocke, an engineer and missionary

I am glad you were successful about British Guiana.

The model of the Welsh spinning-wheel had not arrived when I acknowledged it. It did arrive safely for which many thanks. I have at the Ashram a full wheel of that type. It was sent by some German friend.

The calf incident has provided me with much instruction and an equal amount of amusement. It has thrown on me a tremendous amount of work in that I have to go through dozens of letters or rather essays on ahimsa. The majority of which were not in ahimsa but *himsa* tone. I do not know that I ever held a different view from the one I have now expressed though I had not as clear a perception of it as I seem to have now. You may not remember that when West brought to me a cat whose head was full of maggots and was living in tortures, I endorsed his suggestion that the poor animal's life should be ended by drowning and it was done immediately. And at the Ashram too I allowed Maganlal to destroy rabid dogs.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15108

217. LETTER TO V. G. TCHERKOFF[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[2]
December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I hope in the near future to deal with the objections so gently raised by you. Even if I don't convince you in the reply that I may attempt, you will please believe me that expediency[3], as I understand the word, has no place in my scheme of life. Whatever I have done in connection with war I have done believing it to have been my duty for the moment.

Yours sincerely,

V. G. TCHERKOFF, ESQ.
PRESIDENT, MOSCOW VEGETARIAN SOCIETY
OULITZA OGAREVA 12, MOSCOW 9, U.S.S.R.

From a photostat: S.N. 15109

[1] A friend and follower of Tolstoy whose 'objections' were dealt with by Gandhiji in *Young India,* under the title "My Attitude towards War", 7-2-1929

[2] Permanent address

[3] The source however has 'experience'.

218. LETTER TO GERTRUDE MARVIN WILLIAMS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Your book[2] came into my hands long before your letter. It came with several requests from friends to read it. I have been carrying it with me in the hope of snatching a few moments to be able to read it, but I have not yet succeeded in finding the time. As soon as I do, I shall certainly read the book and let you have my opinion.

Yours sincerely,

M. GERTRUDE MARVIN WILLIAMS
35 EAST 30TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 15111

219. LETTER TO A. MIRBEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[3]
December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It was a perfect pleasure to receive your letter in such good English. I have no difficulty about understanding what you wrote.

Mirabehn is just at present with me, but she has decided for the time being to travel from village to village in the several provinces of India with a view to understanding still more fully the message of khadi as also to assist the khadi movement with the technical knowledge that she has now gained.

Any little thing that you can send for babies will be accepted with grateful pleasure.

Mrs. Gandhi, Devdas and all the rest are quite well.

I am glad that you are trying to observe *brahmacharya*.

I am at present staying in the Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha,

[1] & [3] Permanent address
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, p. 398.

which is a branch of the parent body. I return to Sabarmati in January.

Yours sincerely,

A. MIRBEL
126 RUE DE DOUAI, LITTLE NORD (FRANCE)

From a photostat: S.N. 15112

220. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
December 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also copy of the Macmillan Company's. I must confess that I do not like the tone of their letter. But I suppose they cannot look at this transaction in any other light but that of a business job, whereas I think I have told you I have never entered into any business transactions about my writings. Nor did I enter into this transaction from any pecuniary motive.

Mr. Andrews is in direct correspondence with you and between you two you may do what you can with the Macmillan Company.

The Macmillan Company are mistaken in thinking that the autobiographical articles will be handed to them in a compressed form. When the chapters come to an end, they will be handed to them just as they are. For I should not have the leisure to compress them, and even if I tried, I should not know how to do so for the Western reader.

I am forwarding copy of your letter to Mr. Andrews.

Yours sincerely,

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
12 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 15122

[1] Permanent address

221. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
December 7, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I think I sent you a copy of the letter from the Macmillan Company, but not that of the letter from Rev. Holmes. I am now sending you copies of both in order to avoid any mistake. You will enter into communication with Holmes and do whatever you like. Personally I don't want anything from the transaction and, if you can get something for the Pearson Memorial, by all means get it.

You will see from my letter[2] to Holmes that I do not like at all the manner in which the Macmillan Company are looking at this transaction. But I suppose they cannot look at it in any other way.

I am keeping fairly well. If you are going to British Guiana, Fiji and South Africa, I don't suppose you will be back before the middle of next year. But I don't mind that if you will promise to keep well and return stronger and healthier.

Love.

MOHAN

Encl. 3

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET, LONDON W.C. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 2631

222. LETTER TO MESSRS LONGMANS GREEN & CO., LTD.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 8, 1928

MESSRS LONGMANS GREEN & CO., LTD.
BOMBAY

DEAR SIRS,

I note what you say in your letter dated 3rd December that you do not publish or sell Morris' *Imperialism*. I should however thank you to let me know whether you could procure it for me

[1] Permanent address

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

from some other book-seller, or let me know its publisher's name as also whether it is likely to be available from any other book-seller in India.

In the mean time I should feel obliged if you could send me per V.P.P. at your earliest convenience the following books:

1. Lambert's *Imperialism*
2. Adam's *Law of Civilization and Decay*

I would also request you to send me a free catalogue of books on cotton and cotton industry.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 15113

223. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Saturday [December 8, 1928][1]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You should go on patiently doing what you can.

The Hasmukhrai chapter does not surprise me. In outbursts of enthusiasm he wishes to do many things, but cannot do them. I would advise you not to entrust him with outdoor work. If he becomes engrossed in the industrial activities of the Ashram, he will probably forget other things. Let him leave whenever he wishes to. I have no doubt that he is a really good man.

If Shardabehn can sincerely and wholly dedicate herself to service, I would regard the mistakes she has made as the fruit of God's grace towards her. Certainly, she has ability. I am awaiting her letter.

If Radha is ready to work and if the family wishes to stay on, fix her pay. I cannot say whether, after my rather strong letter, they will stay. I expected Radha's letter today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written[2] to you regarding Kusumbehn. If you feel

[1] As in the source
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 6-12-1928.

that by being forced to remain there she will become weaker day by day and if she is very keen on going over here, let her come.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 22

224. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Saturday, December 8, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

You never get well—how is that? If your only wish is to come to me and if you think you will get well then, please do come. I have written to Bhai Chhaganlal [Joshi] about it.[1] But think about Prabhavati. At present, however, your first duty is to take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1764

225. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[After *December 8, 1928*][2]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I both like and do not like your suggestion. I like it if Santok, Radha and Rukhi have their heart in the Ashram, if they can tolerate a simple life and like the common kitchen. If, however, they are ready to identify themselves with the Ashram, they should indeed have faith in its ideals and try to live within Rs. 12. They could tell me if they found the sum too small. We would certainly not let anyone fall ill and die. If there is excessive expenditure on account of Manjula, it is certainly not Kashi who will meet the excess. What I yearn to see in them is faith in the Ashram and readiness to live in poverty. I have not seen these in them, nor in others. When I don't see them in Santok and Radha and Rukhi, I naturally feel hurt.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] From the reference to a regular salary to be paid to Radha, this letter seems to have been written after "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 8-12-1928.

We should not allow the atmosphere in the whole Ashram to be spoiled because of their attitude. If the Ashram life does not suit the other inmates, they may leave it. If it does not suit Santok, even then the Ashram must provide for her maintenance. This is how I feel in the matter. But what you brothers say will be final with me. Even among the brothers, it is for you to think over the matter and guide the other brothers and me. I have already written[1] and explained that Radha should be paid a regular salary. I have written to her, but she has not yet replied to my letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 9: Narandas Gandhine, p. 46

226. *NOTES*[2]

AN UNNATURAL FATHER

A young man has sent me a letter which can be given here only in substance. It is as under:

> I am a married man. I had gone out to a foreign country. I had a friend whom both I and my parents implicitly trusted. During my absence he seduced my wife who has now conceived of him. My father now insists that the girl should resort to abortion; otherwise, he says that the family would be disgraced. To me it seems that it would be wrong to do so. The poor woman is consumed with remorse. She cares neither to eat nor to drink, but is always weeping. Will you kindly tell me as to what my duty is in the case?

I have published this letter with great hesitation. As everybody knows such cases are by no means unfrequent in society. A restrained public discussion of the question therefore does not seem to me to be out of place.

It seems to me clear as daylight that abortion would be a crime. Countless husbands are guilty of the same lapse as this poor woman, but nobody ever questions them. Society not only excuses them but does not even censure them. Then, again, the

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi," 8-12-1928.
[2] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 9-12-1928. The translation is by Pyarelal.

woman cannot conceal her shame while man can successfully hide his sin.

The woman in question deserves to be pitied. It would be the sacred duty of the husband to bring up the baby with all the love and tenderness that he is capable of and to refuse to yield to the counsels of his father. Whether he should continue to live with his wife is a ticklish question. Circumstances may warrant separation from her. In that case he would be bound to provide for her maintenance and education and to help her to live a pure life. Nor should I see anything wrong in his accepting her repentance if it is sincere and genuine. Nay, further, I can imagine a situation when it would be the sacred duty of the husband to take back an erring wife who has completely expiated for and redeemed her error.

The Tragedy of a Young Couple

A young man writes:

> I am fifteen years of age. My wife is seventeen. I am in a great fix. I was opposed to this ill-assorted union all along, but my father and my uncle instead of paying heed to my protest only flew into a temper and began to scold me and call me names, and the father of the girl just for the personal satisfaction of securing a rich alliance married his child to me although I was at that time of tender age and younger than she. How stupid! And why could not my father leave me alone instead of forcing an incompatible match upon me and landing me into a pit? Could I have understood at that time the implications of the thing I would never have suffered myself to be married. But that is now all over and done. What would you now advise me to do?

The correspondent has given his name and address in full but wants the reply to be given to him through *Navajivan* as he is afraid that my letter may not be permitted to reach him. This is a deplorable state of things. My advice to this young man is that if he has the courage he should repudiate the marriage. For neither he nor the girl in question could possibly have had any idea of the vows that were administered to them at the *saptapadi*[1] ceremony when they were married. Since their marriage they have never lived together. It is up to the young man therefore to take his courage in both hands and brave the prospect of being driven out of his home as a result of his repudiation of the so-called marriage. And I would beseech the respective parents of the couple, if my words can reach them, to have pity on their

An essential ritual in Hindu marriage; literally, 'seven steps'

innocent children and not to force a cruel tragedy upon them. A boy of fifteen is just a stripling. He should be going to school or attending a workshop, not be saddled with the duties of a householder. I hope the parents of the couple in question will wake up to a sense of their duty. If they do not, it will be the clear duty of the boy and the girl respectfully to disregard parental authority and follow the light of reason and conscience.

Young India, 3-1-1929

227. *THE BLOOD-STAINED PATH*

The Government and the Commission do not appear to be satisfied with the senseless beating up of Lalaji and his colleagues. It seems that the Central Government has adjudged the Punjab police to be innocent and given the latter a certificate to this effect. This has provided encouragement to the police in Lucknow, because, if the police in Lahore had no reason to assault Lalaji and his colleagues, the police in Lucknow had even less excuse for attacking Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues. And whereas the police in Lahore used only lathis, their counterparts in Lucknow were found to have used spears besides lathis against innocent and unarmed persons. Further, it also seems from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's account that they demonstrated their courage by showering stones on the people too. Two of these persons are in a critical condition.

In this manner, the Commission's path is stained with the blood of the innocent. The members of the Imperial Commission have, through country-wide strikes, black-flag demonstrations and processions, received due notice that the people do not welcome the Commission although it may have met with the approval of selected Government officials and a few peasants. Some witnesses too may go over to their side. It would be a matter of surprise if from among the population numbering crores in a vast country like India, a few people could not be found to welcome or assist the Commission. It is, however, clear that the majority of the people who take part in politics do not welcome it. The fact that, despite this, it goes round touring from one city to another amounts to nothing but an exhibition of authority. The Commission need not travel from one city to another in search of witnesses. Neither has it to conduct any police inquiry nor make any investigations on the spot, but merely to examine witnesses who have been nominated for that very purpose. It can do this task at smaller cost,

with less trouble and without irritating the people who are sufficiently enraged. It looks, however, as if it is ashamed of following this course of action. It wants garden parties to be given for its members, it wants addresses of welcome and deputations to wait on it. All this pomp and show cannot be accomplished by remaining at one place.

However, if the Commission does not realize its limitations and if the Government does not wish to see any violation of law and order, the Government should serve a notice to the Commission, that the people are displeased by its arrival in various cities, that the majority of the people cannot tolerate its presence, that disturbances may break out in cities upon its arrival there, and that therefore it should work sitting at one place. If the Government issue such notice, the Commission would sit in one place but the Government does not wish to have a peaceful atmosphere; it wishes to exercise its authority. Hence it wishes to take round the Commission in procession from one city to another, even at the cost of suppressing the people.

And if my guess is correct, the warning that Pandit Motilal has given the Government will have little effect. Panditji's warning runs as follows: "Your task in Lucknow is such that, if any disturbances now occur there or at any other place, your officers, who for the last three days have been behaving in an atrocious manner, will bear the sole responsibility for them." There is no doubt that despite the indignities perpetrated by these officers, despite the fact that public leaders have been beaten up, the peaceful atmosphere that the people have maintained can be maintained in India alone. In any other part of the world outbreaks of violence would definitely follow such insults. Some people may well regard this as cowardly conduct. I believe that underlying this is the people's training in peaceful conduct. It is my belief that the people have, to some extent, learnt the lesson of peace which they are being taught since the year 1920. Both the Pandits—father and son—have drawn the very same conclusion and in their speeches have laid emphasis on the need for peace.

If the inferences drawn by Pandit Motilal, Pandit Jawaharlal and me are correct, the peace that has been maintained in Lucknow and Lahore is a good sign. We shall get our verdict much sooner than is generally believed. That verdict may be one which is delivered peacefully or otherwise. The present state of suspense is not going to last long. However, it is also evident that swaraj cannot be secured by the leaders merely suffering

blows. There is no alternative before the public but to make great sacrifices, whether violent or non-violent. It is my prayer to God that the people may make sacrifices for upholding the pledge of non-violence which they took in 1920, so that India will gain a prime place in world history in lessons of peace. This is because this world which is filled with violence sorely needs peace, and if today there is any country on the horizon which can show the path of peace it is only India.

While thinking of the blood-stained journey of the Commission, there is one painful fact which is a matter of shame and should not, cannot, be overlooked. Perhaps it may be regarded as something understandable that the insult to the people does not have any effect on the Commission's British members. But it is a matter of shame and sorrow that those Indians who have been appointed subsidiary members of the Commission are putting up with this insult and holding on to their positions. We can see a reflection of our own weaknesses in the behaviour of these members. They are aware that members of all prominent political parties in India have boycotted the Commission. How will the people be able to forget the fact that they have ignored such a boycott?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-12-1928

228. GOOD CARDING

At one time the processing of cotton had become so very common that in all the languages of the world many proverbs and figures of speech which were based on it came into use. If anyone is hypercritical, we say to him: 'You spin yarn which is too fine.' If anyone goes on talking uselessly and is also critical of others, we say: 'Why do you keep carding in this manner?' This indicates that in the art of spinning and carding people knew exactly when the limits had been exceeded either way. As we have forgotten that knowledge today, we have also forgotten the many subtle verbal usages in our language drawn from the processing of cotton. Now as that activity is being revived, those who regard it as a sacrificial act are trying to exalt it as well and are engaged day and night in thinking out ways and means of improving and expanding it. They are aware of the fact that, along with these additions and improvements, the capacity is be-

ing gained to supplement the meagre income of the poor. With this idea in view, one who spins in order to serve writes:[1]

Till now I myself was under the impression that cotton could be carded well only by drying it. This correspondent is an experienced person. He has made a careful study of the art of carding cotton. He teaches others and I find his argument well-grounded. Hence this letter of his has been published in order that we may learn from the experience of experts like him. I hope that those who are interested in such activities and those who spin regularly will write of their experiences and I suggest that those who spin for sacrificial purposes should imitate the interest taken in this activity by the above writer. Those who perform their sacrificial acts should not do so merely as an onerous duty to be done with; they would take the greatest interest in the activity if they hoped to have daily *darshan* of God in it; they would make it more interesting and would be sorry if they were prevented or had to refrain from doing that activity on any particular day. I have seen devoted Vaishnavas worshipping their Master. Every day they add some adornment to the image. They prepare many kinds of delicacies as offerings and feel upset if while travelling or due to ill health they cannot perform this worship. They either give up all food or at least subsist on the very minimum until they can perform their worship. Nowadays ostentation, false pride and the desire to enjoy oneself have crept into it and it has become part of this worship. That form of worship has therefore become the subject of adverse criticism and those performing it instead of purifying themselves very often suffer from lack of character. Such rituals which have originated in the purest of sentiments are being continuously misused in the world. Hence Narasinh Mehta has sung:

> What if one has put on a caste mark or worn a string of *tulsi* beads? What if one counts one's beads and repeats the name of God? All these are merely tricks to earn one's living.

May the great sacrifice of spinning never fall into disrepute. This depends on the purity and understanding of those who perform it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-12-1928

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had condemned the common practice of drying cotton in the sun prior to carding.

229. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

WARDHA,
December 9, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. I have no doubt that your experience will prove very useful. I have some share in Mrityunjaya's[1] foolishness. He asked me whether he could write to me to inquire if he would get an agency in case some newspaper reporters accompanied me. I thought there was no harm. I had never expected such a long business letter. How can I protest now that this is too sharp a thrust?

Trivedi had sent to me, about a month ago, the original of the extract he has sent to you. I have preserved it for use on an appropriate occasion.

I have gone through the portion about the spinning-wheel in R. B.'s speech. I will make use of it.

It would be surprising if Vallabhbhai did not do what he asked others to do. He is out to win swaraj through Bardoli, and he can succeed in that only if he identifies himself completely with the cause. Tell him that before asking you to learn riding he himself should do that. He is not too old for it.

My health is fairly good. In my experiment, which I am carrying on with great caution, I have now included milk of almond and fruits. Your forgetting to send the wire to Karsandas[2] is certainly unpardonable. I had to suffer much for your lapse. Karsandas was in extreme distress. Surajbehn did not receive help when she needed it urgently. But I have always forgiven even unpardonable lapses by you. Hence I forgive this too. Please do not make such a mistake again. In future, even if such a task is entrusted by me, you may tell me that you would be happier not to be burdened with it when you had come to spend only a day or two with me. I remember now that there was no one in the verandah at that time except you, and so I placed the wire in your hand. But do not grieve over the matter now. I have dwelt on it at this length only in order that you

[1] Son of Rajendra Prasad

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 5-12-1928.

may be careful in future. You had also forgotten to give my message to Shantikumar, but that was about a small matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11440

230. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Sunday, December 9, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. In a sense your inference is correct. At present, I may be said to be busier than I used to be there. I do not get up early in the morning. I go to bed before nine in the evening. However, I used to have some leisure when I was there. Here, on the other hand, I am all the time writing or dictating something, with my head bent low, and even then I can hardly cope with the work. Of course I do not let the work exceed my strength. It cannot weigh me down with worries. I do the best I can. As a rule I go out for a walk twice a day. In this matter I am able to follow the rule more regularly here.

You ought to improve your health. Do not for any reason miss the benefit of milk and fruit. For the present, live only on these two. If, in addition, you take a little quinine daily, you should not get fever again. For some time eat nothing which is of no benefit to your body.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1765

231. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Sunday [December 9, 1928][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your letter. Mrityunjaya's letter mentioned Friday as the probable day of your leaving for Dwarka. But having waited for a day and knowing well your nature, I have written.

Do only as much as you can. Do not fall ill through your desire to work to excess. Half the period is over now. I hope to come in January. Learn the rest from the letter to Kusum.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3323

232. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Sunday [December 9, 1928][2]

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You need not be in a panic if Lakshmidas or Mahadev cannot go over there. After all, it is for the Secretary to shoulder the burden.

I can understand Lakshmidas's view of our relation with the Spinners' Association.[3] Both the views, yours and his, can be supported, but your view will be regarded as final since it will be for you to carry out the arrangements decided upon. Whatever arrangements are preferred by the person in charge of a piece of machinery must be made. But the important thing, as I see from here, is that there should be harmonious relations between you and Narandas.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I also feel that Shardabehn's letter is not clear. If you have a talk with her, you will be able to understand her mind better.

[1] From the reference to letter to Kusum Desai; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] As in the source

[3] The relation of the Ashram with the office of the Spinners' Association located in the Ashram

See that you do not imitate others and attempt anything beyond your strength. Take as much milk and other things in your food as you require. God protects my life, for my experiments are inspired from within. What you attempt will be at present imitation. Your duty is to build a strong body with whatever food is necessary for the purpose and to devote yourself to your work. My experiments have not, so far, come in the way of my work. On the contrary, I believe, that they have helped it, for I have gained through them serenity of mind.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 23

233. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 9, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I have credited into the Lalaji Memorial Fund the cheque which you sent.

I see no need for sending the Parsi or the Irish lady to the Ashram. It will suffice if they write out the various methods of making biscuits which they know. Even though no ghee or oil may have been added, the biscuits must be light.

I read in the *Times*[1], about the 6th or 7th (December), a review of a pamphlet about how to recognize poisonous snakes. I forget the author's name. The review appeared in the "Current Topics". If you can get the pamphlet there, please send a copy.

In regard to Sumant, Shankerlal writes and tells me that it is not necessary to publish any statement about him in newspapers. He has been dismissed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have got the name of the book:

Poisonous Terrestrial Snakes of British India and How to Recognize Them by Colonel Wall issued by the Bombay Natural History Society.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4790-a. Courtesy: Shāntikumar Morarji.

[1] *The Times of India*

234. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

[Before *December 10, 1928*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this a newspaper which contains a report about the Hyderabad State and also a letter from Babu Rupanarayan. I have taken an extract from the report which was relevant to my purpose and drafted a note[2] and sent it for publication in *Young India.* In my note I have also given a framework of the co-operative scheme advocated by Rupababu. Read it and think over the matter and write to me if you wish to suggest any changes.

As regards spinning yarn of five counts, why do you say that we cannot spin yarn of over 20 counts? If you do not get there cotton of the required quality for spinning fine yarn, we get here any quantity of cotton grown from American seed. These days I spin yarn of not less than 30 counts. I find no difficulty in doing so. I do not get even tired in carding the cotton. I hardly take 15 minutes to card $\frac{3}{4}$ *tola* weight of cotton and making a sliver from it. I spin yarn of 30 counts from that sliver. I, therefore, require only $\frac{5}{8}$ of a *tola* weight of cotton. I have not got the strength of the yarn tested yet. I have told Chhotelal to get it tested. It may not perhaps come to much, but it should be good enough after some experience. That we should spin fine yarn is an old idea of mine. I believe that we should wear whatever coarse khadi we can get and should spin fine yarn and give it to those who require it. Think over this.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Narandas Gandhine, p. 48

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji spinning yarn of 30 counts and not having got the strength of the yarn tested, the letter seems to have been written before "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 11-12-1928.

[2] *Vide* "Khadi in Hyderābad Stāte", 20-12-1928.

235. A MESSAGE

WARDHA,
December 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Your wire and letter were received simultaneously. Here is the message:

"Our patience is proverbial. Let it not be said by the future generations it was the patience of the coward."

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14609

236. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

WARDHA,
December 10, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS,

I have your letter. Do you remember that you received a letter from Bareilly suggesting that there should be a separate department for khadi propaganda and that you sent that letter to me? I thereupon wrote in *Young India* on this subject. In response to that, I received one or two hundred rupees. Ever since that time, I have been thinking about the subject of propaganda. But, then, who would undertake this work? As I reflected over this problem, I thought of you. You are already doing something in Bombay. Moreover, you know from experience about the kinds of khadi produced in the country. Probably, therefore, you will understand what propaganda work needs to be done and you will be able to do it. That is why I asked you because you understand more about the problem [than others are likely to do].

If you still do not follow me, please write to me.

I have not yet been able to finish the article about Kashmir.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9766

237. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Silence Day, December 10, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. It is good that you have started taking quinine every day. What about hip-baths? It is very necessary to take them. They will definitely counteract the toxic effects of quinine.

You can accept service from Kanti[1]. One who is always ready to serve may certainly accept service from others. This will do for today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1766

238. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

WARDHA,
December 10, 1928

SISTERS,

I have the letter written on your behalf.

You will get information about me from the letter written to the whole Ashram.

All that is required to put a stop to the noise in the kitchen is a firm determination. Once you make such a determination the noise will definitely cease.

If you are not at home with your kitchen work as yet, let me remind you that you cannot think of doing any other for another year. It is best therefore that you make up your mind to like your work.

But the painful incident that has just occurred must set all of you thinking. The incident is not now a secret and it should not be hidden. Therefore I want to discuss it here. Not one but at least three of you were involved in it. It is needless to point the finger of scorn at any of these three because all of us, whether men

[1] Harilal Gandhi's son

or women, might be guilty of such misconduct at some time or other or have already been guilty; I want you to learn two lessons from this incident. In the first place we must stick to our kitchen work for it is through it that we came to know about the misconduct. If we live in the shelter of a home, we can never know our capacity for sin. We realize the extent of it only when a suitable opportunity presents itself. Here such an opportunity occurred, aided by [bad] company. The result was the emergence of the latent sin. The kitchen has in this way proved useful. Secondly there was not enough courage to do things openly, so theft and lying were resorted to. Why should we not do a thing we want to do boldly? Why should we be afraid of appearing as we actually are?

If we like tasty food, why hide the fact? Craving for tasty dishes is no sin. The sin lies in hiding the craving and in secretly indulging in it. Everyone, man or woman, is at liberty to eat whatever he or she desires. That was one of our objects in converting the Satyagraha Ashram into an Udyoga Mandir. Anyone may satisfy his craving for good food, the only restriction is that the good food must be prepared in the common kitchen. None should cook delicacies whether secretly or openly in one's private rooms. One may go out and eat a delicacy at a friend's place, there is nothing to hide in this, or one may keep eatables such as dried fruits and so on in one's room. It is better if such freedom is not availed of, though there is no restriction on such freedom. My earnest request to you is this: Always appear what you really are; whatever you do, do it openly. Never allow yourselves to be unduly influenced by another; if you ever promise to do a thing, never act contrary to it.

Everyone that does kitchen work must strictly follow her routine. It does not look as though you had as yet been able to remove the fears of Gangabehn senior. Every single activity in the kitchen must go on regularly like clockwork.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3684

239. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

WARDHA,
December 10, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I think all of you would like me to give in my weekly letter the details of my experiments in diet. I started feeling considerably weak from the last Wednesday or Thursday. As I had told you, I did not wish to persist in my experiments if I lost weight because of them. Vinoba, too, felt a little unhappy, for he saw my weakness; the weight also had gone down. On Friday, I started taking oranges and other fruits and included in the diet almond-milk. My weight was taken yesterday and it had increased by one pound. The weakness had begun to disappear from the very day that I included almond-milk and fruits in the diet; there is no trace of it now. I still see, therefore, no need to include milk. I have continued oil. I see no harm done to anyone here through it. The loss of weight and the weakness may be ascribed to no other cause but the sudden reduction of protein in my diet. The only things which are excluded now are milk and ghee. My objection is especially to goat's milk. If I can give it up, I shall have peace of mind. I have no aversion to fruits, fresh or dry. In giving them up I was prompted only by the consideration of expense. I will not, however, insist on excluding either at the cost of my health. All of you will see that the results so far are beneficial. Nevertheless, I wish to make no predictions about the outcome of the experiment. We can judge nothing in fifteen days. We can come to some conclusion only if the same condition is maintained for three months. Let no one, therefore, give up milk in a fit of enthusiasm. But anyone who wishes to try the effect of milk and linseed oil may do so. It is the experience of many here, including of course Pyarelal and Chhotelal, that fresh oil is harmless. It has done Pyarelal and Chhotelal no harm whatever. Subbiah has joined them now, and so has Vasumatibehn. These two have not been in the experiment for many days. It seems, however, that linseed oil, if anyone wishes to experiment with its use, must be fresh. It should not be warmed. You may get the seeds pressed in *ghani*[1] there. The oil can be sent from here, but the

[1] Indigenous oil-mill

railway freight is excessive. If sent by goods train, it will take a long time to reach there. You can instal a *ghani* for about Rs. 100, or Rs. 150. But the best course just now is to arrange with the owner of a *ghani* in the city. Of course I do not insist that this matter be taken up. We experience many difficulties, and they will remain; that is why I merely set down here the effects of excluding ghee and make a suggestion about how to get the oil. Two other effects of the oil have been observed, and they are these: it acts as a laxative and stimulates appetite. It is Pyarelal's experience that, instead of weakening, it stimulates appetite. It is the experience of the people here that it acts as a laxative. Personally I can say nothing positive about its having such an effect.

And now another subject.

The noise in the kitchen there must stop. I expect to see this outward reform when I return there. It should not be difficult for anyone never to speak, unless quite necessary, while eating. It should also not be difficult to keep the children quiet.

My second suggestion is that some restriction should be placed on the quantity of vegetables served. Whatever the vegetable that is cooked, the quantity per head should not exceed 10 *tolas*. According to medical science, more than this quantity of green vegetable is not required. I hear that attendance at prayers is again becoming thinner. It should not be necessary for me to explain at this hour of the day that no one should expect someone else to stimulate his or her interest in prayers. The interest should be felt within. As the body needs food and feels hungry, so the soul needs and feels hungry for prayer. Prayer is a form of communication with God. So long as our need for attendance at prayers is not the same as that for attendance at meals, for which we require no one to goad us, so long our faith in God is weak; or, though we subscribe to the rules of the Ashram we do not observe them and to that extent we are unfaithful to it and violate the vow of truth. Anyone who realizes this will not remain absent at prayers—whether morning or evening—without some strong reason.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 24-6

240. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

December 10, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

On Mondays I write letters in the early morning. The post comes later. I have got today's.

The more attentively you listen to the *antaratman*, the purer will your decisions be, you will become purer, more fearless and calmer, and your health too will improve.

I have written to Vidyavatibehn and told her that . . .[1] [of] Berua[2], who is a votary of truth, will never disappoint me.

Even the fanciful experiments of Prabhudas[3] do not displease me. If nobody else, I shall help to get his woollen khadi sold. Acquaint him from time to time with your views and those of Narandas.

Chhotelal has now recovered. If only he would agree, I would send him away. He is a bit conceited and often interferes with affairs for which he has little aptitude. I am patient with him because he is a lover of truth and *brahmacharya*. Though violent by nature, he sincerely believes in non-violence. I see his many weaknesses every day, still I think well enough of him to be patient with him. And so we cling to each other.

I hope the bread which you make there is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 26-7

[1] As in the source
[2] Name of a village in U.P.
[3] Son of Chhaganlal Gandhi

241. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Silence Day, December 10, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. Please do not spoil your health by working beyond your strength. And do not feel hurt whether others work or do not work or whether they respect you or insult you. Only when you can do this can it be said that your *tapascharya* in the kitchen has succeeded. As you become less sensitive, the work will be done more smoothly and others, too, will help you. Acknowledge whatever help they give. If you see insincerity and false show in anyone, non-co-operate with that person.

How many persons take their meals in the kitchen these days? Do you run short of milk? Do all the persons come for the meals in time? Is there a little more quiet now? Are you gaining on weight? I put on one pound during this week.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 16

242. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

December 10, 1928

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. The experiment[1] I am conducting was necessary for my mental peace; I am careful [about it].

On the 20th I leave this place for Sambalpur. I shall reach Calcutta on the 23rd. I hope to reach the Ashram in January.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What shall I do about the Fund?

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2361

[1] Of giving up milk and taking almond-milk, oil and fruits; *vide* also "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 10-12-1928.

243. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

WARDHA,
December 11, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

The issues of "Mandir Samachar" which I get are still illegible. If there is any defect in the machine, please get it repaired. If the fault lies with the person who takes out copies, find out what it is.

On getting my yarn tested, I find that its count is 30, evenness 93 and strength 68. These days the yarn I spin is uniformly of 30 counts. I cannot draw more than 160 lengths an hour.

Are you now taking more cow's milk? Does everyone write his or her diary regularly?

I wrote this last night.

Tuesday

I have got your letter.

I questioned Keshu and he tells me that he did not write what you attribute to him. He merely described my condition and suggested that it would be better if Santok and others left the Ashram. I believe that in such matters Keshu keeps himself within limits. Whether or not he does, you should do your duty with firmness. I have stated my views clearly. Give them the facility which Chi. Narandas has suggested and then let them live as they choose.

Do not attach too much importance to what Shankerlal says. That is his manner of speaking. We should admit, however, that there is some truth in what he says and remove our shortcomings.

The members of every institution which has acquired prestige in society tend to become proud. We are not free from this defect. I shall not, however, feel hurt if the office of the Spinners' Association is finally removed from the Ashram. Our aim is to carry a burden, to do our duty, and not to enjoy authority. When one burden becomes light, we may, if we have the necessary strength, accept another. If the khadi section of the Spinners' Association is removed from the Ashram and if we can lend to it the services of our men, we may do even that. But the position is this: the decision in the present case is to be arrived at jointly by you and Narandas. If you two can unite as milk and sugar mix and become one, the department will work and be a success. If there

is a gulf between you, it will never work. In that case, it may as well be removed from the Ashram. I am neutral in this matter.

There is no harm if the totals of the entries in regard to spinning are read on Friday. None of us understood whom you meant by Makrani[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not read the letter after finishing it.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 27-8

244. LETTER TO KUSUM AND PRABHAVATI

December 11, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter, and Prabhavati's too. Take this letter as meant for both of you. There is little time now before the post is cleared and I have plenty of work lying before me. You have not done right in stopping oranges. It will do you good even if you take them for a week. I think they are necessary for your health, and there is no doubt that they suit you. Papaya cannot take the place of oranges. Lemon and honey do, but only in some degree, as I see from my own experience here.[2]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I understand what you say about yourself too. There was a letter from Vidyavati today. I wrote to her a long letter only yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1767

[1] A woman belonging to Makarana community in Saurashtra; Gandhiji had given this name to Ramabehn, the addressee's wife. *Vide* also "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 20-12-1928.

[2] What follows was written in Hindi.

245. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

WARDHA,
Tuesday [December 11, 1928][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter about Rajagopalachari. I like the suggestion. But it is difficult to say whether Rajaji's constitution will stand the strain of this work. Anyway I shall write to him.

How is your health now?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRIYUT GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE, CALCUTTA

From Hindi: C. W. 6163. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

246. TELEGRAM TO DR. B. C. ROY

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

DR. BIDHAN ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET

PARTY ABOUT TWENTYFIVE CAN EASILY STAY TENTS. BUT PLEASE LET ME ACCEPT JIWANLAL'S HOSPITALITY.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

[1] This letter is presumably the reply to the addressee's letter of December 8, requesting Gandhiji to induce C. Rajagopalachari to accept the position of the Honorary General Secretary of the Prohibition Leagué of India, in succession to Rev. Herbert Anderson.

247. A LETTER[1]

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

DEAR FRIENDS,

I have now gone through the copy of the memorandum signed by you all. I have explained what I consider to be the implications of truth and ahimsa. In the memorandum you mention non-co-operation of the Congress which is based on ahimsa, and you mention in the eighth article ahimsa and *satya* as the foundations of religion and yet I saw in our discussion that some of you believe in both truth and non-violence as a policy or, if you like, a temporary creed obligatory only whilst you were attached to the national schools. I have endeavoured to show you that national schools whose foundation is truth and ahimsa cannot be built up when the teachers are half-hearted even regarding the very foundation. At the critical moment they are bound to fail. While, therefore, I honour you for your convictions and the brave manner in which you have stated them, I want you to appreciate my difficulty in trying to find financial support for your institution in any extraordinary manner. It must be also, I suggest, then a matter of honour for you whether you would ask for or accept money through one who is absolutely wedded to truth and ahimsa and for whom they are not a temporary creed but matters of life and death.

In the circumstances, I would like you to consider the whole position and you discuss amongst yourselves what you would have me to do and then Sjt. Tijaray and others who do not believe in truth and ahimsa as their final creed should come over to Wardha and discuss the thing with me and come to a final conclusion. My desire is to help the school to the best of my ability. But I see that there is a moral difficulty which I had not foreseen.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13781

[1] A. R. Tijaray, Principal of Tilak Vidyalaya, Nagpur, in his letter dated November 15, 1928, had invited Gandhiji to inaugurate the annual lecture series of the institution which were to be held between November 20 and 25, 1928. This letter seems to be addressed to the staff and students of the institution.

248. LETTER TO N. C. CHUNDER

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do hope that you are not going to drag me to the Indian National Social Conference.[1] In many respects though I am claimed as a social reformer, I am really a back number and perfectly useless.

In spite of the great weight attached to Sir Sivaswami Iyer's matured views, I am in no sympathy whatsoever with artificial birth-control methods advocated by him so energetically. You may not know that I oppose them uncompromisingly as I consider them to undermine the very moral foundations of society. But of course I have no desire whatsoever to engage in a platform controversy and air my views before the Social Conference. I would therefore ask you to put me out of sight and out of mind for the Social Conference.

Yours sincerely,

N. C. CHUNDER[2], ESQ.
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13782

249. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

I had your letter and the cheque. I know you do not expect any letters from me, though you may write an occasional letter to me. I certainly like this one-sided arrangement.

But are you keeping better now? Are you stronger? I have certainly not been more ill than you had believed. As a matter of fact, the illness was only a slight derangement.

Do write to me whatever you like. Are you not coming to Calcutta? Or are you not strong enough? But, if you don't

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Satyananda Bose", 9-11-1928.
[2] Chairman, Reception Committee of the Conference

come, do write the promised long letter. I shall try to read it and I shall not attempt to reply to it unless there is something arising from it which I must say.

MISS NARGIS CAPTAIN
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13783

250. LETTER TO E. C. DEWICK

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I was indeed sorry that I could not be with you in Mysore, but it was not possible. I tried but failed.

I would indeed be delighted to meet Dr. Mott[1]. The only suitable time is likely to be between 7th to 15th January, 1929. So far as I am aware, at present, I am likely to be in Sabarmati during those dates, and, if I am, I should be delighted to receive Dr. Mott at the Ashram. It is however just likely that after Congress I might have to go to Burma when the whole of my programme will be disturbed.

My present dates are: up to the 20th at Wardha, from 23rd to the end of the year Calcutta. My Calcutta address would be C/o Sjt. Jiwanlalbhai, 44 Ezra Street, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

REV. E. C. DEWICK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13785

[1] Dr. John R. Mott, Chairman of the World Student Christian Federation

251. LETTER TO ROLAND J. WILD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I had hoped to be able to give you a reply in full. But I have not been able to get hold of the articles you sent me. I have not them by me in Wardha and I have just discovered that the cuttings that you were good enough to send me were passed on to the Austrian friends who have left India. If you could kindly send me the cuttings again, I would certainly tell you where, in my opinion, I was misrepresented, no doubt quite unconsciously, by you.

If you will send the cuttings to my present address at Wardha, I shall get them more quickly than if you send them to Sabarmati. I am in Wardha till the 20th instant and then go to Calcutta where my address is:

C/o Sjt. Jiwanlalbhai, 44 Ezra Street, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

ROLAND J. WILD, ESQ.
"THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE", LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13786

252. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

WARDHA,
December 12, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have been unconscionably long in replying to your letter. But I know that there was no hurry. In all my plans Jamnalalji is ever with me. I showed your letter to him and told him what I expected of you. He was delighted, but he asked me whether I had made clear to you what the Ashram life means. I told him I had so far as I knew and so far as I could. You know what it is. You know that the vow of *brahmacharya* is obligatory and there is only one kitchen at the Ashram, now

Udyoga Mandir. Jamnalalji doubts whether your wife would be able to put up with the Ashram life as it has developed and is developing.[1]

I would therefore like you to confer with your wife and make it absolutely plain to her. Go through every clause of the Ashram constitution which is binding on the Udyoga Mandir. For you to come to the untouchability work is to throw in your lot with the Ashram and make complete surrender to the cause for life, because the work is to be developed through a secretary who would give his whole time and attention to this one cause to the exclusion of everything else. Jamnalalji thinks that it is no use your coming to this work unless you think that the work will be sufficiently interesting for you to absorb your whole time, and that your wife would be in sympathy with your being so occupied. Please confer with her and let me know what conclusion you jointly come to.

I am here till 20th. I reach Calcutta 23rd instant where my address will be C/o Jiwanlalbhai, 44 Ezra Street, Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. N. R. MALKANI
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 890

253. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

Wednesday, December 12, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

I understand your difficulty. We cannot suspend publication of the papers for a week. I am preparing from now on. I, therefore, don't think that it will be difficult to publish them. I count on three columns by you. May you win success after success there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11437

[1] In his letter dated November 14, 1928, the addressee had written: "I have consulted my wife about the terms of my future employment. . . . in the Ashram" (S.N. 13723).

254. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

Wednesday [*December 12, 1928*][1]

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter and also Prabhavati's. Follow any treatment you like, but do recover and I shall be happy. I have no time to write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1768

255. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Not Revised *December 12, 1928*

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. There is no reason for panic. Write thus to your father-in-law:

"Your wish ought to be a command for me. My father wants me to act in accordance with your command. I am faced with a conflict of loyalties since your son keeps writing from America telling me to live in the Ashram and study. He also wants me to study English too very well. I am quite comfortable in the Ashram. Bapuji treats me like a daughter. Ba too is good to me. Arrangements have been made for my stay in the women's section after Rajbanshi Deviji[2] leaves this place. I am quite safe in the women's section. I therefore wish to stay in the Ashram as your son bids. But then I shall do as you say. And I may assure you that you need not worry on my account. While I live here I am quite alert, there are many women in the Ashram and I am on good terms with them all."

You may, if necessary, improve upon the language. Inform your father also regarding the developments. Give all details to Mrityunjaya and send him a copy of your husband's letter.

[1] *Vide* also the following letter.
[2] Wife of Rajendra Prasad and mother of Mrityunjaya

Whatever happens you should be unperturbed. Remember the *shloka*: "Hold alike pleasure and pain"[1], etc. Be courageous and recite Ramanama.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3342

256. THE PITFALLS[2]

Describing the incidents of Lucknow in a private letter Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes:

> An incident which took place yesterday morning might interest you. I have not mentioned it in my statement. Soon after the mounted and foot police had driven us back near the station, a young man, whom I took to be a student, came to me and said that he could bring me two revolvers immediately if I wanted to use them. We had just experienced the baton and lathi charges and there was a great deal of anger and resentment in the crowd. I suppose he thought that it was a favourable moment to make the offer. I told him not to be foolish. Soon after I found out quite casually that this particular person was known to be in the C.I.D.

Pandit Jawaharlal was safe as he has no secrets. If he finds any use for revolvers in his scheme for the freedom of the country, he will not need the offer from the outsider to lend him one. He will carry it himself openly and use it effectively when in his opinion the occasion has arrived. So he was safe from the blandishments of the C.I.D. And what applies to Pandit Jawaharlal applies in a measure to all Congressmen. For happily the Congress politics abhor secrecy. Congressmen have ceased to talk with closed doors; they have shed the fear of the C.I.D.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 38

[2] Gandhiji writing on the same subject in *Navajivan*, 16-12-1928, began thus: "Wherever we turn, the Government has cast their nets far and wide. We do fall into one or the other deadly traps. Some of them are open, some are concealed, and some are tempting. The liquor bars are the open traps, the hidden traps are the C.I.D.; schools, legislative assemblies, courts, etc., are the tempting traps . . . I know this much that only God can save us from these. And to ask for protection of God one should have extreme faith and unlimited determination." He concluded: "If we create in ourselves the spirit of dedication then we can deliver our country this very moment and the liberation of many countries of the world lies in our liberation."

But the C.I.D. will not be itself if it does not have emissaries whose business among other things it is to expose people to temptations and entrap them in the nets prepared for them. It is difficult to imagine an occupation more debasing and degrading than this, and yet it has been reduced to a science by the chief governments of the world and has attracted to it some of its cleverest brains. Britain takes perhaps the first place in this occupation. Lying in the C.I.D. is cultivated as a fine art. Ponsonby's[1] *Falsehood in War Time* gives a painful record of lying on the part of all the powers that were engaged in the pastime of mutual destruction on the false plea of philanthropy. It is a black record of crimes committed by the nations of whom Britain was not the least but probably the greatest offender. She could have stopped the War if she had been less greedy and less selfish.

Wherever you turn in India you encounter pitfalls. To me every institution — be it the most philanthropic — run by and in the name of the Empire in India has an unmistakable taint about it. That we run to and hug most or some of them is no test of their goodness. It is test of our helplessness, short-sightedness or selfishness. We have not the courage to sacrifice much, in order to save ourselves from criminal participation in sustaining an Empire which is based on fraud and force, and whose chief, if not one, aim is to perpetuate the policy of ever-growing exploitation of the so-called weaker races of the earth.

In a way the C.I.D. is the least dangerous of the traps so cleverly laid by the builders. Those whose exterior is attractive are really the most dangerous of all. We often fall into one of these enticing but deadly traps, before we hardly know where we are. It was for some such reason that the Romans said: "Beware of the Greeks, specially when they bring you gifts." When an enemy comes to you bearing the look of philanthropy, he is to be most dreaded. Would that the youth of the country learnt this simple truth and avoided the pitfalls into which they daily fall even whilst they are cursing the Empire and hoping to deliver the country from the intolerable yoke which is not only ruining the nation economically but is also causing unfathomable moral mischief.

Young India, 13-12-1928

[1] Member, House of Commons

257. *JUSTICE RUN MAD*

I reproduce elsewhere in this issue the first instalment of a sample of the translation of the Tamil songs of the late Bharati, the Tamil poet, whose songs were the other day confiscated by the Madras Government acting under instructions, or, it is perhaps more proper to say, orders from the Burma Government. The Burma Government it appears in its turn suppressed these songs not by any order of court but by executive declaration. It appears that under that declaration the books of this popular Tamil poet which have been in vogue for the last 30 years and which, as appears from the evidence before the High Court of Madras, were under consideration by the Education Department of Madras for introduction in the school curriculum, are liable to confiscation in any part of India. I must confess that I was unaware of any such wide executive powers being held by Provincial Governments. But these are days in which we live and learn. This was no doubt a matter falling under the jurisdiction of the Education Minister. But it is becoming daily more and more clear that these Ministerial offices are a perfect farce, even as the legislative chambers are and that the Ministers are little more than clerks registering the will of the all-powerful I.C.S. Therefore the poor Education Minister could do nothing to save these popular books from confiscation. Probably at the time the confiscation took place, he had even no knowledge, or if he had, he was not even told what it was that he was really signing. In due course however the confiscation attracted public attention. Pandit Harihara Sharma of Hindi Prachar Karyalaya and publisher of Bharati's songs, on behalf of his poor widow, could not sit still under the confiscation. He therefore moved the public and the matter was naturally debated in the Legislative Council which condemned the confiscation. Pandit Harihara Sharma even petitioned the High Court for an order to set aside what was clearly an illegal confiscation, and because of some understanding that the order of confiscation will be withdrawn, that the books will be returned and that the Madras Government will make reparation to the poor widow, the petition has been withdrawn. But the wrong still remains. One can only hope that the expectations of Pandit Harihara Sharma will be fulfilled and that the wrong will be remedied by the return of the books. But whatever reparation is made by the Madras Government, the sense of wrong will abide and so will the sense

of insecurity created in the public mind by the action of the Madras Government in slavish obedience to the Burma Government.

Young India, 13-12-1928

258. LETTER TO SARASI LAL SARKAR

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I shall certainly bear your suggestion[1] in mind and try to enter into a greater self-analysis wherever possible. I have to deal with a concrete question of that character and if you are following the pages of *Young India* fully, you will notice it.

If you can without inconvenience get hold of the journal[2] referred to by you, I would certainly look at it and if I find anything to controvert, I shall do so.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARASI LAL SARKAR
177 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, SHYAMBAZAR P.O., CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13790

259. LETTER TO SUHASINI NAMBIAR

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You have given me a big commission. Whatever answer I may give will be incomplete unless I enter into details for which I have no time. I am sorry. But if you will refer to the pages of *Young India*, you will certainly find the majority of these ques-

[1] In his letter dated December 1, 1928, the addressee had said that in his opinion the psychological factors were very real things in Gandhiji's life but he did not deal with these factors in his autobiographical and introspective writings.

[2] *International Journal of Psycho-analysis* published from London, in which Berkely Hill, Superintendent, European Mental Hospital, Ranchi, had published a paper about the unconscious ideas in Gandhiji's mind concerning charkha.

tions answered and for the rest you will be able to frame your own answers after having read the *Young India* articles. They are to be had in book-form, except the current year numbers, from Sjt. S. Ganesan, 18 Pycrofts' Road, Triplicane, Madras.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI SUHASINI NAMBIAR
441 1ST ROAD, KHAR, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13791

260. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

WARDHA,
December 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Why do you think that those who make no mention of Anglo-Indians take no interest in them or their doings? You don't think that because I make no mention of many important things in the pages of *Young India* I am not interesting myself in them. Sometimes mention means not a friendly interest but hostility. I could offhand tell you of a dozen things in which I am deeply interested, but which never found any mention in the pages of *Young India* or in my speeches.

My views remain the same that I expressed to you when I had the pleasure of meeting you in Calcutta.

If you have anything special in mind which you think I should deal with please do not hesitate to tell me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13792

261. LETTER TO REVA DATTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your long letter containing interesting information.

It was a severe disappointment to me that I could not join the Convention[1] at Mysore, where I expected to see many friends. But I could not make time for it.

It is just likely that I should be in Calcutta on the 2nd January and I should be delighted to meet you in Calcutta.[2] My own dates after then would be uncertain, though according to present arrangements, I should expect to be the whole of January at Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. R. DATTA
C/o MRS. HENSMAN
LOCOCK'S GARDENS, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 13793

262. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

WARDHA,
December 13, 1928

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I am passing on your reflections on pooling[3] to Ghanshyamdasji.

[1] Of the World Student Christian Federation

[2] In her letter dated December 7, 1928, the addressee had said that she would be in Calcutta from January 2 to 20, 1929.

[3] In his letter dated December 10, 1928, the addressee had written: "If it is intended to reduce the price of the khaddar of any Province then it may be done by mixing with local khadi the cheaper khadi of other Provinces. But the pooler in this case is to guarantee sale of all the production of the Province in which the pooler operates. . . . The pooler in this instance wants to dispose of as much as possible without disturbing the local market. Pooling can be applied here by keeping the local prices as the standard and buying some dearer and some cheaper khadi from outside and selling them at the local standard price along with the local khadi . . . Injurious pooling is pooling in

I am glad you are already in touch with Mahavirprasadji. If you have not known him before, I would like you to come in intimate contact with him. He is an extremely fine man sharing most of our ideals, if not all of them.

Krishnadas is here now, and I am drinking in all the many things that he has to say about you and Hemprabhadevi and Sodepur in general. Only you and Hemprabhadevi may not kill yourselves with work. Those who work in the *Gita* spirit never overwork themselves, because they work with complete detachment and complete detachment means utter freedom from anxiety. When we work purely as His instrument with an absolute self-surrender there can be no cause for anxiety or fretfulness whatever the result or however black may be the horizon for the time being. Jesus summed up the same lesson in one sentence: "Be careful of nothing." Krishnadas tells me Hemprabhadevi is wearing out her body. She may not do so and let her not deny herself the ordinary creature comforts which may be essential for keeping her body up to the mark.

I note what you say about the Exhibition.[1] I do not mind it. It is enough we do not resist and hold ourselves in readiness to help where need be and this we must do in a spirit of utter goodwill and without irritation.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13794

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a producing Province without taking the responsibility for the disposal of its whole output. For example, Mr. Jerajani may buy the best khaddar from all over India, pool the prices and sell at a standard price at Bombay. This is harmless in Bombay where there is no local khadi."

[1] The addressee had also said: "The Exhibition authorities have not communicated with me. . . . Agents of the Committee went about the country and secured non-Association khaddar from Bengal, Bihar, Andhra, etc. They arranged to run spinning shows also in the same way. That the A.I.S.A. is coming now is something additional and therefore the old arrangement continues."

263. *LETTER TO KALI KRISHNA NARAIN*

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am of opinion that these demonstrations if they continue to be disciplined and strictly non-violent, they have an immense educational value and therefore should not be abandoned, so long as there is a guarantee as perfect as is humanly possible that there will be no violence on the part of the demonstrators whatever the nature of the provocation.

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Kali Krishna Narain
Lucknow

From a photostat: S.N. 14827

264. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS*

Wardha,
December 13, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

The way before you is not clear. Read the accompanying letter. I have even suggested to Ram Sahay that he should have a talk with you. Show unlimited love. If you exercise patience and do not give up in despair, ultimately victory is yours. Do not be easily satisfied with your work. Show love to both; that is what is meant by an equal mind. When we give bread to a hungry person and advise another suffering from indigestion to fast, in both cases we are prompted by love; this, therefore, is showing an equal mind and treating an ant and an elephant with equal consideration. Do not assume, in dealing with him, that your new method has succeeded completely. If you patiently explain it to those who insist on following the old method and carry them with you, there will be minimum friction.

Whether the method adopted is the old or the new one, it must be followed faithfully. Write to me from time to time about the difficulties which you experience. Never feel worried in the

smallest measure. If you feel at any time that my conclusions are based on inadequate data or incorrect reasoning, draw my attention to the fact. You may have faith in the principles which I lay down, but the conclusions which I draw from certain facts cannot be a matter of faith.

Faith has no place in a matter which can be grasped by reason. Hence, whenever you see my ignorance as regards facts and find the reasoning vitiated by that ignorance, please do correct me. If you make this a regular practice, I shall be able to write to you more freely and guide you better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4213

265. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

December 13, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have started from today using 'Chi.' in place of 'Bhai'; let this be a permanent change.

It was not my fault that you received no letter on the 11th. I did write to you. You must have received two letters on the 12th. This happens sometimes when letters are given to be posted when it is about clearing time.

It is a serious illness indeed which Ramabehn has brought with her. Do not get nervous. Take necessary measures to get her cured and everything will be all right. Other illnesses, too, will go in their due time. For Kailas's illness, it is Dahibehn and Nanubhai who are responsible. Even children's stomachs cannot bear any burden for ever. The same is true about Dharmakumar. The moment he is all right, he starts taking all sorts of liberties. As for Velanbehn, illness is part of her constitution. She, too, cannot control her palate, and Sabarmati's water will not let us take any liberty. From one point of view, this is for our good.

I see nothing wrong in charging to the khadi section the expenditure of Rs. 12 on account of those inmates of the Ashram who are being trained exclusively for khadi work.

Whatever difficulties, internal or external, you may have to face, see that you are ever vigilant. Do not lose patience, and do

not undertake any task beyond your strength. Go on doing silently whatever is necessary, and you will feel no burden.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 29

266. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

Thursday [December 13, 1928][1]

CHI. RAMABEHN,

You have returned to the [Udyoga] Mandir with illness in the family. By the time you get this letter, the children will no doubt have recovered. If, however, you cannot bring them up well, that will be a discredit to you and to the Mandir. You should give to the children not what they ask for but what is good for them. In refusing to give them what they ask for, you need not be harsh with them. You can reason with them. I have often explained this to you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 277

267. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

Thursday [December 13, 1928][2]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter about Lalaji. I am happy to learn that khadi work is progressing. In this connection there is a letter from Satis Babu. I send it to you for perusal. You need not return it.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6164. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] From the reference to Ramabehn and children's illness; *vide* also the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 13-12-1928.

268. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

ASHRAM, WARDHA,
December 13, 1928

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

Your letter to hand. Neither I nor anyone else has forgotten you. I did not write simply because there was no occasion. What you write about Lalaji is quite correct. You are happy and the hopes of success in the work are ever increasing. I am therefore not worried on your account. God alone knows whether we are actually successful or not. Our duty is only to have faith. These days I am at the Wardha Ashram. Ba and others are with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI TULSI MAHER, CHARKHA PRACHARAK
KOBA HALL, PATAN, NEPAL

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 6536

269. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

[About *December 13, 1928*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter.

I want you to be in good health no matter how you manage it. You must not overstrain yourself.

I shall try to treat Sodepur on the same footing as Sabarmati. It is because I have my doubts about the feasibility of conducting the same experiments there as at Sabarmati and Wardha that I cannot regard it as such. I do not wish to spoil Sodepur by carrying on experiments there on the lines of Sabarmati. The existence of Sodepur is for the sake of khadi, while that of Sabarmati is for experiments in truth, etc. This does not mean that Sabarmati is superior. I merely defined the fields of work at the two places. I do desire to make experiments at Sodepur, similar to those at

[1] The activities of the Sodepur Ashram were being expanded during the year 1928. By December the addressee was apparently trying to immerse herself in work. *Vide* also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 13-12-1928.

Sabarmati. But all this lies in the hands of God. Whatever be the state of affairs at Sodepur, you are in my eyes an Ashram inmate.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1646

270. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

WARDHA,
December 14, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

Here is a wire from the A.I.S.A. Agent in Kashmir. I know from personal experience that a great deal of stuff from Kashmir passes on as hand-spun and hand-woven, but the yarn is foreign. There is no question of swadeshi mill yarn in Kashmir. It is either foreign or hand-spun. The foreign yarn was fast displacing the hand-spun. The A.I.S.A. Agent has just gone to stop the rot. How far it can be stopped remains to be seen. But in any case his being posted there has resulted in exposing many a fraud.

May I hope that nothing will be exhibited which is not certified by the A.I.S.A.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13301

271. *LETTER TO AKOOR ANANTHACHARI*

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Much as I should like to ventilate the grievances referred to by you, there are so many such grievances that it seems to me utterly useless to pick up this one with any hope of getting redress. Such grievances will not be redressed unless the atmosphere around us is purged of weakness and helplessness.

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Akoor Ananthachari
Gowthama Ashram
Chengadu Village, Walajapet

From a microfilm: S.N. 13797

272. *LETTER TO RUP NARAYAN SHRIVASTAVA*

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. The calf incident was an isolated case with which I was called upon to deal personally. The rats question is too big a question for me to handle. You will therefore excuse me for not dealing with it in the pages of *Young India.*

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Rup Narayan Shrivastava
C/o Seth Jamnadas, M.L.A.
Jubbulpore

From a microfilm: S.N. 13799

273. LETTER TO HARI KRISHAN DASS

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Unless I see the text of the definite promise[1] said to have been made by the British when your town was founded, it is difficult for me to give you any advice. But of course before adopting satyagraha, if it ever becomes advisable, you will exhaust all the constitutional means at your disposal and if you have a strong case, you will also approach good Mussalmans and seek their intervention. By way of example I give you the name of Dr. Ansari.

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Hari Krishan Dass
Editor, "The Bijli", Fazilka

From a photostat: S.N. 13800

274. LETTER TO DR. SACHCHIDANAND SINHA

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I am still keeping your articles on my file.

The supersession of the Gaya District Board did seem to me an extraordinary step on the part of the Minister. I have never been able to find the slightest justification for it, and I hope that you in Bihar have been able to find an effective remedy against such gross abuse of power.

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. Sachchidanand Sinha
Patna

From a microfilm: S.N. 13802

[1] That no cow-slaughter would be permitted in the town

275. LETTER TO J. D. ATRE

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

Dear Friend,

I have your letter. It is clear that you have not read my articles carefully. B's life cannot be taken by A, because A must be credited with sufficient intelligence to know that B when he seeks to commit suicide is temporarily insane. A must arrive at his own judgment and not rely upon another's, and certainly not upon the one who may be suffering from insanity.

Yours sincerely,

J. D. Atre, Esq.
38 Zaoba's Wadi, Bombay 2

From a microfilm: S.N. 13803

276. LETTER TO V. N. KHANOLKAR

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

Dear Friend,

I have your letter. I am now corresponding with the khadi bhandar. I quite agree with you that if slivers are supplied, they must be good and workable.

You tell me in your letter that you cannot card, but in the concluding portion you ask for one pound of cotton. Is it carded cotton that you want, or cotton for carding?

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. V. N. Khanolkar
Ganesh Bhuwan, Khar, District Thana

From a microfilm: S.N. 13804

277. LETTER TO AMARNATH

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry you have lost your wife. I hope that you are now much more cheerful and resigned than you were when you wrote your letter. If I were you I would not trouble to know the destiny of the soul of your wife. But you should trust that wherever the soul is now lodged, it is well with her.

As to your second question, it is well if your wife lived in detached love in which case, there will be no pangs of separation as there should be none. For we all meet in Him if we yearn for the union with the Divine. Though we seem to be separated one from the other, yet considering the common source we are one and not merely as husband and wife or parents and children but as all life.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. AMARNATH
BATALA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13805

278. A LETTER

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no reason whatsoever for you to grieve over your disease, for impotency is also a disease. But if you live in the fresh air, take a moderate amount of exercise, eat unstimulating food, i.e., milk, wheat, green vegetables without condiments and some fresh fruit, and take Kuhne's baths for sufficient length of time, you may regain your vitality. But you must not be anxious about it.

It will be certainly sinful for you to put an end to your life.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13808

279. LETTER TO C. N. DEVARAJAN

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I have not been able to reply to your letter earlier. And I am equally sorry to find that there is distress in Jaffna. There is a Government Famine Relief Fund. I do not think that there is any constitution about it. There is a permanent small fund kept by Sjt. Devdhar of the Servants of India Society, Poona. It is a voluntary fund. You may be able to get further information from him if you write to him. I would also like you to write to Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar (Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu), who did much work during the South Indian flood time.

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. C. N. Devarajan
Manipay, Jaffna (Ceylon)

From a photostat: S.N. 15119

280. LETTER TO JEROME DAVIS

As at Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati,
December 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate your warm letter. It is not want of funds that is keeping me from going to America. The question is far deeper than one of finance. My expenses have been offered by Indian friends, if I would but go. My difficulty is whether there is a call of duty, whether, that is to say, I have a message to be delivered personally. I wonder if my function is not limited to let the message drip down to America through the life that I am privileged to live in India supplemented or interpreted through my writings. I do not feel the inner urge.

But I have undertaken, if everything is quite clear before me, to go to Europe about the end of April next. Whether I should then take America and whether I should have the time, if I felt the call, is a different matter.

Let me also tell you that friends like Dr. Ward are of opinion that I have been right up to now in my decision not to go to America. They think that I would be a nine days' wonder, would be perhaps lionized for a few days, but that the message for which I stand and which I am trying to live will be lost upon the people.

Yours sincerely,

JEROME DAVIS, ESQ.
YALE UNIVERSITY, 1110 EDWARDS HALL
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 15120

281. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

December 14, 1928

The description of the place tempts me too. But can I ever hope for such good fortune?

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 95

282. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

December 14, 1928

CHI. NARANDAS,

There is a Marwari youth[1] who is a B.Sc. and is at present serving in a mill in Amalner; now it is time to get him married. He must be about 22. When Maganlal was alive, I had expressed the view that he must be a pleasure-loving man and very rich, and that, therefore, we should not think about the matter. The proposal, therefore, was not pursued. I have now met him. In my judgment, he is a suitable match for Rukhi. He is not very rich, but is quite well-to-do. His father lives in England; he has to make up the losses which he has incurred. This youth is a lover of khadi and wears khadi. Please ascertain from the mother and the daughter now whether they desire this match. He is a Vaishnava. He will not interfere with Rukhi's way of life. I advise the match. If you think it necessary, you may consult Khushalbhai[2] too; afterwards let me know your decision in time, so that

[1] Banarasilal Bajaj
[2] Addressee's father

I may pursue the matter further when I visit Calcutta. Neither the young man himself nor anyone else knows who is the girl I have in view and to which place she belongs.

Are things all right with you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7724. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

283. *LETTER TO DIRECTOR, PUSA INSTITUTE*

WARDHA,
December 15, 1928

THE DIRECTOR
PUSA INSTITUTE

DEAR SIR,

Could you please let me know whether you have bee-keeping on the Pusa Farm, and if so, whether instruction is given there in bee-keeping and whether there is any literature about bee-keeping in India?

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13810

284. *LETTER TO JAGANNATH*

WARDHA,
December 15, 1928

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

I dare say Balwantrai Mehta has been writing to you directly. He is already in harness and has made a good beginning.

I write this to you to find out whether scientific bee-keeping is done in the Punjab and if so, where and to what extent and whether it is possible to put oneself in touch with any expert in bee-keeping. I have just heard that bee-keeping is an extensive occupation in the Punjab.

Yours sincerely,

LALA JAGANNATH
2 COURT STREET, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13811

285. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

December 15, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. The news that you have recovered completely has lifted a burden off my mind. Do not fall ill again.

Things are all right with me, more or less. The work is certainly heavy, but I do not feel the burden.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

From Monday there will be crowds of people here. How many dine in the common kitchen?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1769

286. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 15, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You may certainly credit half of Sanderstone's £15 in the khadi account and half in the *Antyaja* account.

I should very much like to permit the Bihar lady to come and stay, but that cannot be done at present. We must, however, get ready to admit such women. Let us be fit for that without delay.

Yes, I thought so. There is a mention of my having given the title of Makarani to someone,[1] but I soon forget such humorous inventions of mine. Convey to Ramabehn my apologies.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 30

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 20-12-1928.

287. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

[*December 15, 1928*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your letter. Consult Chhaganbhai about Suryamukhi Devi. Write from Dwarka too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2339

288. *LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL*

December 15, 1928

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your letter. Owing to overwork I was unable to write earlier. You should continue with both the jobs, khadi as well as teaching, although I would not call it unswerving devotion to khadi. For that reason my devotion too cannot be regarded as such.

There is nothing artificial about such devotion.

People like you will serve khadi while teaching. Bhai Jethalal thinks of nothing else. There is room enough for both.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRI MOOLCHANDJI
KHADI ASHRAM, REENGUS, RAJPUTANA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 751

[1] From the reference to Suryamukhi Devi from Bihar this letter appears to have been written at the same time as the preceding letter.

289. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF KHADI

A gentleman from Mombasa who is a khadi lover has written the following letter[1] to Shri Vithaldas Jerajani, who has sent it over to me:

The implication of this is that those who are proficient in the art of producing several articles of cloth from mill-made yarn should take an interest in khadi and get yarn produced which is twisted in varying degrees. This is a task which can be accomplished. It is being carried out to some extent but only in a very small measure. So far very few persons who have a knowledge of the techniques used in mills have taken any interest in khadi, while those who are engaged in furthering the cause of khadi have not made a study, from the standpoint of khadi, of mill-made cloth and the techniques involved in making it. Many people believe through ignorance that nothing whatever can be learnt from the industrial techniques used by mills, while others have assumed that khadi of any quality would pass muster. Despite this, compared with the first pair of dhoti woven in the khadi cause in 1918 at the Satyagraha Ashram, the price of which was fixed at seventeen annas a yard, which was the actual cost, the khadi of today is vastly different in both quality and price. Hence it may be claimed that some workers in this movement have also paid attention to the quality of khadi. The late Shri Maganlal was the first to begin a systematic study of this matter. It has borne good results. That study is still being continued; however, I must admit that further improvements are needed. There is no doubt that much more improvement can be made if, as the above writer suggests, those who know the mill techniques devote even a little of their time to improving khadi. In order to carry out widespread propaganda for khadi, the maximum possible variety of quality and design should be introduced. Nevertheless, something will in the end remain where the limits of both will be marked out and the one cannot and need not resemble the other. For instance, there are some artistic achievements of khadi which the mills have to this day not been, and will never be, able to imitate. Similarly, the same quality of khadi cannot be produced in bulk as the fine-looking cloth amounting to crores of rupees which the textile mills can

[1] Not translated here. The writer had suggested that the quality of khadi should be improved by drawing on the experience of textile experts.

produce at a low cost. And there will be no need to produce it either. Mill-made cloth is produced, whether there is need for it or not, simply in order to make people use it and in order to earn larger profits. Khadi can only be produced in the quantity in which it is required. Khadi cannot have and will never have the capacity for mass production with the intention of making people wear it. That advantageous limit will always be there with regard to khadi because man is not a gross machine which can be worked beyond a certain limit. However, it is the special task of the organizers of the centres run by the Charkha Sangh to adopt all possible improvements in the quality of khadi. Let those who are dimly aware of this become fully awakened to it. Let us hope that those who are familiar with the techniques of mill-made cloth will start taking an interest in khadi and devote their time to it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-12-1928

290. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE[1]

WARDHA,
December 16, 1928

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I have your letter. If Malaviyaji is too old, don't you think that I am also running a neck to neck race with him? And I am possibly even more kind, more mild, more pliable, more docile, in your sense of these words, than he is. How can a Mahatma living up in the clouds give any lead? But why is a Mahatma wanted at all for "the rough and tumble of a hard matter-of-fact struggle"? And what about men like you who are daily growing younger? Why not let the poor Mahatma have his lonely greatness upon earth be done with? But joking apart, I do want to do my humble share in the service of the religion I profess to own and about this we must talk when you and I have more leisure.

I have glanced through your address[2] and like many things this has also a sting in its tail. If you will take the analogy of Afghanistan, why do you expect Mussalmans to be Hindus in Hindustan? Afghans don't expect Hindus to be Mussalmans, but they may expect

[1] In reply to his letter dated December 14, 1928, inviting Gandhiji to lead the Hindus

[2] To All-Parties Conference organized to support the Nehru Report, as Chairman, Reception Committee

them to be like Afghans, that is, like the inhabitants of Afghanistan. The corresponding term, therefore, is Indian. For the service of India, Mussalmans, Jews, Christians should be Indians even as Hindus should be Indians. Whilst each group will follow its own religion intact without interfering with those of their fellow groups. Surely that formula is quite enough for you and every one of us.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. S. MOONJE
NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13814

291. LETTER TO HONORARY SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA PRESS CONFERENCE

WARDHA,
December 16, 1928

THE HON. SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA PRESS CONFERENCE
34 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your circular letter. I now understand the meaning of your telegram. Though you do me the honour to consider me a journalist, I can hardly adopt it. In any case I consider myself as quite unfit to guide you on the three questions put by you.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13815

292. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

WARDHA,
Sunday [December 16, 1928][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. The diet experiment which I made in the Ashram had certainly pleased Rajaji, for it included only *rotli*, milk, ghee and vegetables. He does not care very much for fruit. He will not probably like the experiment I am making here. They use oil in the food here, and so I too have started taking it. I do not

[1] In "Letter to Kusum Desai", 15-12-1928, Gandhiji speaks of crowds gathering at Wardha "from Monday", December 17, 1928.

wish to do anything at the cost of my health. If oil does not suit me, I will stop it.

Kusumbehn can come here for the Gujarati work. She can certainly do justice to it but I felt that she should remain in the Ashram. There is Pyarelal here who attends to some of the Gujarati work. He ought to improve his handwriting. Since Keshu is with me, I can use his services too for this work, if necessary, though in fact I have brought him here for the sake of his studies and his health.

You did well in sending Navin and Rasik to Meerut. They should write and describe their experiences there.

Pyarelal, Chhotelal, Subbiah, Ba and Keshu are with me here. Many others will come not from the Ashram but from outside. Ghanshyamdas Birla arrived here only yesterday. Haribhau came today. So I expect we shall have good company here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2042

293. *LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI*

Sunday [December 16, 1928]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I have received the book about snakes.[1] If I want another copy, I shall write to you. What was the accident which befell grandmother, and how? Tell her that she has many more years still to live.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Gokibehn that I got her letter.

SHRI SHANTIKUMAR
SHANTI BHUVAN, PEDDER ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4710. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Shantikumar Morarji", 9-12-1928.

294. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

December 16, 1928

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I am thinking over. There is no cause for anxiety. I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3344

295. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

December 17, 1928

MOTILAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

DON'T UNDERSTAND RAJAGOPALACHARI'S SUGGESTION BUT HE MAY REPRESENT SEVA SANGH. JOSHI[2] ASHRAM BANKER[3] SPINNERS.

GANDHI

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

296. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

December 17, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Your latest letter brings tears of joy to my eyes. Indeed you have surpassed all my expectations and those of most who have known you, your worth [and] your love for the country and humanity.

[1] In reply to his telegram dated December 15, 1928, which read: "At Rajagopalachari's suggestion, I invite representatives of Gandhi Seva Sangh, All-India Spinners' Association and Satyagraha Ashram to All-Parties Convention, Calcutta, as they don't fall under invited organizations. Kindly wire names representatives" (S.N. 13813).

[2] Chhaganlal Joshi

[3] Shankerlal Banker

About the new appointment the less said, the better. I had long correspondence with Sir Mahomed. But he opened it after everything was done. He wanted me to bless it. I told him as I did not know the gentleman, I could not bless it.[1] I suggested that they should have your nominee. It was no good. I therefore suspended my judgment and imposed silence on myself. It still continues.

May God keep you for many a long year to come. Well, you are coming to the turmoil. But you wanted to. You shall have it with a vengeance.

With love,

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8816

297. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

WARDHAGANJ,
Silence Day, December 17, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

Today is silence day and so this is just to tell you that I remember you. Now that three of us have applied ourselves to work for *Young India* and *Navajivan*, I don't think there will be any difficulty. There is plenty of other material here.

Rani is coming this evening. Miss Royden is also coming. Subbiah does not remember the wire you speak of.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11438

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", 9-11-1928.

298. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Silence Day, December 17, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got both your letters. You were of course forgiven. If I believe a girl to be foolish, she will certainly be forgiven her foolishness, but it ought to be pointed out to her. To excuse yourself by saying that you did not know how to express yourself in words may not be foolishness, but people call it cleverness or smartness.

I read today of your getting fever again. There is pride in working beyond one's strength, and the foolishness of doing so is plain enough. Those who have an iron constitution may work beyond their strength, that is, there is no work indeed which is beyond their strength. Those who have reduced themselves to a cypher and trust everything to God, they alone can work like that. When you have such faith and can live like a cypher, you may work as much as you like. For the present, work within limits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1771

299. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

WARDHA,
Silence Day, December 17, 1928

SISTERS,

There has been no letter from you today. But I gather from your previous letters that there is now comparative quiet in the kitchen. Do not rest till you establish perfect quiet there. This job is mainly yours. Take upon yourselves the responsibility of making the kitchen attractive in every way. It can be regarded as an ideal part of an ideal school only when everyone can eat in perfect peace, when all do their work out of a sense of duty and a love of perfection and remain content with whatever is served in it. The whole institution is a school as you know, and the kitchen is a school too. There the food should be scientifi-

cally stored, cooked and eaten. Thus in every detail there should be cleanliness and a spirit of discipline. We do not go there or dine there for sense gratification. The body is a temple of God; as such it has to be kept clean and preserved through nourishment. If you adopt such an attitude all the quarrels we see in regard to kitchen work will disappear. In my letter addressed to the whole of the Ashram, I have made four suggestions. Think over them and try to practise whatever appeals to you.

Kailas, Sheela and other children must not fall ill. If any child is ill, do not think it is the concern and responsibility of its mother alone but assume responsibility for it yourselves. It should be the normal practice in our Ashram whenever a mother is not able or does not know how to nurse a sick child, for anyone who knows the job to offer to look after the child. No mother should feel that she is alone with no one to help her.

I have nothing more to say.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

Received both your letters.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3685

300. LETTER TO TARABEHN

December 17, 1928

CHI. TARA,

I have a letter from you after a long time. Of course the last letter [between us] was yours. You ought to recover your health completely. I am at present in Wardha. Ba is with me. Among others are Pyarelal, Subbiah and Chhotelalji. Vasumatibehn was here for some time before I came. Within four days I shall leave for Calcutta. You can write to me c/o Jiwanlalbhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. TARABEHN
C/O MESSRS MOHARILAL KALIDAS & CO.
14 MUGAL STREET, RANGOON

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8783

301. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 17, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Why should you get upset because of children's illness? These things come and go. Sometimes we may even lose one of the children. God gave them and He may take them back; there is nothing strange in this. Besides, everyone in the world has to go along the royal road sooner or later; why, then, should we grieve if anyone leaves early? And rejoice if someone leaves late? There is no difference between Umi's[1] soul and that of a calf. Both are diamonds from the same mine, drops from the same ocean, leaves of the same tree. One need not be afraid of whooping cough. It always disappears in due time. If we do not harass the child with too many medicines while the attack lasts, he or she lives through the attack all right. Hot water and hot milk—everything hot. The bowels should move regularly. [Give her] light massage with oil on the chest and put her in sunshine early in the morning.

Do not be sure of Chhotelal arriving there till you actually see him. Of course he will arrive.

Gangabehn should put her feet in hot water with soda bicarb mixed in it and massage them long with vaseline before going to sleep. Besides this, she must put on shoes, of any type, during day time. Since we now look upon the hide of a dead cow as sacred, there will be no harm even if she wears light slippers—not *chappals* — made of it. It will be enough if the slippers meant for use in the kitchen always remain in the kitchen. Slippers of rubber are also available. Slippers of hessian get wet and dirty, and they cannot be washed. Slippers made from leather can be washed.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not consider the last issue, too, of "Ashram Samachar" as properly cyclostyled. I leave this place on the evening of Thursday, the 20th. On 21-22 in Sambalpur and on 23 in Calcutta,

[1] Addressee's daughter

at Jiwanlal's place. Address the letter to Sambalpur only once, or not at all.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 30-1

302. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [December 17, 1928][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letters. It was impossible to write yesterday.

You have displayed much firmness and patience. That is how we should always act. You are on the potter's wheel, and I am sure God will mould you well. Do not lose heart in regard to *brahmacharya*. Surely it is a difficult task. If we believe that we can succeed in it merely by our own effort, [we should remember that] in the story of the Yaksha,[2] as we saw, the god of wind found it impossible to blow away even a straw by his own strength. But even the most difficult task becomes easy when human effort is supported by divine grace. Both of you should strive, but leave the result to God and you will surely get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 31

303. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

[December 17, 1928][3]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your nice letters in a beautiful hand come quite regularly and I am highly pleased.

You must not be dejected. Not many days remain for me to return to the Ashram. A few days will pass in your visit to Dwarka and the journey back.

[1] As in the source

[2] In *Kenopanishad*

[3] From the reference to "Kusum's falling ill again", this letter seems to have been written along with the one to Kusum Desai dated 17-12-1928. Year and month from the reference to the addressee's proposed visit to Dwarka.

Ask Vidyavati to write to me; I want to write to her but do not for lack of time.

I feel a little worried over Kusum's falling ill again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Who will be responsible for nursing Kusum in your absence?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3321

304. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

[Before *December 18, 1928*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your letter. Your presence there spares me any anxiety on Kusum's account. Rajendra Babu came yesterday. I hope a telegram has been sent cancelling the Dwarka trip. There is no time now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3315

305. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Tuesday [*December 18, 1928*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I wanted to write about many things today, but have no time.

I do not know what Santok wants. If she wishes to stay on and lives contentedly, it would be very good indeed. You and Narandas should decide about this. It will be best if you leave this decision to Narandas. I will write about Devdas later. I had read Mirabehn's letters. I will write to the Gurukul in regard to Balbir.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 32

[1] From the reference to Rajendra Prasad who came to attend the A.I.S.A. meeting held on December 18 and 19

[2] As in the source

306. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
Tuesday, December 18, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I cannot help but get angry with you. Who allowed you to eat everything? Why should you give up coffee? If you attempt to do so in my presence, I will help you. Why do you make such experiments in my absence? May I once again beg you to live on milk and fruits and pick up health? If you wish to eat anything else, ask for my permission.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1772

307. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

December 19, 1928

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. You may certainly go to Rajkot if you find that necessary. I have experimented with earth treatment for *bamblai*[1] and found it succeed. I cannot say whether the experiment will suit Khushalbhai at his age.

I have made my point of view clear in regard to Santok. If what I think is wrong and if she likes the Ashram, its inmates and its mode of life, I will like nothing better than that she should live there. How can I possibly be happy that she should live elsewhere? If, however, I have to try every day to keep her pleased, the situation will be intolerable to her, to me and to other inmates of the Ashram. I do not want to see her take the last seat; I want to see her in the front seat. But how can she take the first number in the Ashram unless she learns self-sacrifice, gives up love of pleasures and selfishness?

If Rukhi is ready for a match with this Marwari youth, I may proceed further in the matter. I shall certainly obtain a photograph. By "meeting", do you mean that she wants to see the

[1] A boil in the arm-pit

youth or talk with him? In either case, I see nothing wrong in her meeting him. I shall not feel hurt even if she rejects the match. In this case, I believe it my duty to respect her wishes fully. Please let me know if you want any other details. I have no time today to write about other matters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 7725. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

308. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

WARDHA,
December 19, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

What shall I tell you now? The doctor's advice to you to eat everything is not correct and should not be followed. If you drink plenty of milk and eat plenty of fruits, your illness will certainly disappear. There is no harm in taking a little coffee with the milk for some time. You should work very little, have enough sleep, and see that you have regular motions. It is my firm belief that if you look to all these things, you cannot but recover health. Do not be afraid to take quinine. If the doctor sends you something to counteract the toxic effects of quinine, there is no harm in taking that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1773

309. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Wednesday [December 19, 1928][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter and the statement of accounts. I will show them to Jamnalalji. I feel unhappy all the time over the affair of Sharda, Kashibehn and Shakaribehn. When I think of Sharda's courage, I both smile and cry. She seems to have put her courage to wrong use. Do you not agree that my boasted skill in understanding people is nothing of the kind? It is good that I know

[1] As in the source

some of my imperfections well enough and God opens my eyes to the rest. He will save.

These clouds trouble me; still bigger ones will come. Remain vigilant. Do not lose heart. Try to fill the place which Maganlal did. Do not give up hope even when all round you lose it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Do not worry about my experiments. I am in God's keeping. With this is a letter from Mirabehn. Henceforward, credit the money received[1] to her name. The expenses incurred for her should of course be debited to the Ashram account. Do not debit it against this money.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 32-3

310. LETTER TO JETHALAL

December 19, 1928

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

I got your letter. I have written to Chi. Narandas at the Ashram. He will reply to you. If his reply does not satisfy you, then write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1347

311. DISCUSSION WITH A CAPITALIST[2]

[Before *December 20, 1928*]

God forbid that India should ever take to industrialism after the manner of the West. The economic imperialism of a single tiny island kingdom (England) is today keeping the world in chains. If an entire nation of 300 millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts. Unless the capitalists of India help to avert that tragedy by becom-

[1] From Mirabehn's father, who used to send £50 every month during the early years of her stay in the Ashram

[2] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter"

ing trustees of the welfare of the masses and by devoting their talents not to amassing wealth for themselves but to the service of the masses in an altruistic spirit, they will end either by destroying the masses or being destroyed by them.

Young India, 20-12-1928

312. *DISCUSSION ON KALI TEMPLE*[1]

[Before *December 20, 1928*]

He next turns to a khadi worker who is also accompanying him. He must agree to go to Calcutta[2] where he is wanted in spite of his disinclination. If we could transform Calcutta we should transform the whole of India, he argues. He himself would go there and make it the centre of his activity, but . . . And he then gives out this sorrowful secret that he has harboured in his bosom all these years of his life. It is the Kali temple.

There lies my difficulty. I cannot bear the sight of it. My soul rises in rebellion against the cold-blooded inhumanity that goes on there in the name of religion. If I had the strength I would plant myself before the gate of the temple and tell those in charge of it that before they sacrificed a single innocent animal they should have to cut my throat. But I know that for me to do so would be an unreal, a mechanical thing today because I have not yet completely overcome the will to live. And till I can do that I must bear the cross of my imperfect existence.

Young India, 20-12-1928

313. *DISCUSSION WITH A TEACHER*[3]

[Before *December 20, 1928*][4]

A deputation of the teachers of a national school has come to wait upon Gandhiji. . . . In the course of conversation one of the teachers lets out that he holds non-violence as a creed only for individual conduct. In the political field he holds to non-violence only as a temporary expedient. Gandhiji starts as at a snake in the grass. 'Are there many other teachers in your school who think like this?' he quietly asks. But his countenance betrays what is passing in his mind. The teacher notices this and tries to explain his position.

[1] & [3] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter"

[2] For the Indian National Congress session

[4] Gandhiji left Wardha on December 20, 1928.

True, he believes in non-violence in politics only as a policy but a policy is as good as a creed while it lasts, if it is sincerely and conscientiously adhered to. For the time being therefore there is no difference between his position and Gandhiji's. As for the future, if he should feel like changing his policy he would surely obtain the permission of the school authorities first for doing so. But the explanation fails to satisfy Gandhiji.

Don't you see the difference, with you non-violence is only an intellectual proposition, with me it is an article of faith, the first and the last. You try to make a distinction between individual conduct and social conduct. I do not see how it is possible. Where is the line to be drawn? And who is to decide where the one ends and the other begins? यथा पिण्डे तथा ब्रह्माण्डे। 'As with the individual so with the universe.' You say that your abandonment of non-violence would be conditioned by the permission of the school authorities. But let me tell you that in the circumstances postulated by you there should be no room for asking such permission. For then, you would be bound to sacrifice your school at the altar, according to your belief, of your country just as I would my country at the altar of truth and non-violence. And I would honour you for doing so. No, I do not want to blame you. You must follow the light of your convictions. I am only trying to view the question from a different angle. There are at present a number of national institutions in the country with truth and non-violence as their creed. I have my eye upon them constantly. For a time is fast coming, it may, as I wrote in *Young India* the other day, come much sooner than most people expect, when the country will be put upon its trial, and will have to make its final choice. I count upon these institutions in that hour to give a good account of themselves. Maybe a mere handful of workers as we are, we shall have to make a holocaust of ourselves to testify our faith. So far I had believed that I was absolutely safe in your hands. But I now see where I stand. But that need not make you feel unhappy; it is a question for me only to think about.

There is a deep note of sadness in his voice as he utters these words. . . .

Young India, 27-12-1928

314. SPEECH TO KHADI WORKERS[1]

[Before *December 20, 1928*][2]

We must distribute production and centralize sales for the time being. We must try the experiment of pooling prices of khadi produced in various centres to bring down the average. Look at the figures of mill khadi. . . .[3] What does it indicate? A revolution in the people's taste. They are prepared to make a sacrifice. They ask for coarse cloth. But they are being foully deceived by the mill-owners who do not hesitate to exploit their patriotic sentiment. Spurious khadi is being palmed off on them as Gandhi cloth, even my portrait is put upon it. Could there be a greater fraud or a worse betrayal? But the moral for us in this is that we must increase our production. And to do this we must bring about a general reduction in khadi prices by pooling. Do they ever think what a fierce resentment it will cause among the masses when they discover, as they are bound to one day, that they have been betrayed at every step? I should not be surprised, if in a frenzy of anger they should in that event rise against the mill industry in general.

Young India, 27-12-1928

315. THE ETERNAL DUEL

A friend writes:

In the article entitled "The Tangle of Ahimsa" appearing in *Young India* of October 11th, you have stated most forcefully that cowardice and ahimsa are incompatible. There is not an ambiguous syllable in your statement. But may I request that you tell us how cowardice can be exorcised from a man's character? I notice that all characters are but the sum total of habits formed. How are we to undo our old habits and build the new ones of courage, intelligence, and action? I am convinced that habits can be destroyed, and better and nobler habits can be formed giving birth to a new character in a person. It seems to me that you know prayers, discipline, and studies by which a man can attain a

[1] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter"

[2] Gandhiji left Wardha on December 20, 1928.

[3] As in the source

second birth. Won't you kindly tell us about them? Do give us your knowledge and advice in one of the numbers of *Young India.* Please help us by giving an account of the method of praying and working by which a man can recreate himself.

The question refers to the eternal duel that is so graphically described in the *Mahabharata* under the cloak of history and that is every day going on in millions of breasts. Man's destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. If religion does not teach us how to achieve this conquest, it teaches us nothing. But there is no royal road to success in this the truest enterprise in life. Cowardice is perhaps the greatest vice from which we suffer and is also possibly the greatest violence, certainly far greater than bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name of violence. For it comes from want of faith in God and ignorance of His attributes. But I am sorry that I have not the ability to give "the knowledge and the advice" that the correspondent would have me to give on how to dispel cowardice and other vices. But I can give my own testimony and say that a heartfelt prayer is undoubtedly the most potent instrument that man possesses for overcoming cowardice and all other bad old habits. Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

Christianity and Islam describe the same process as a duel between God and Satan, not outside but within; Zoroastrianism as a duel between Ahurmazd and Ahriman; Hinduism as a duel between forces of good and forces of evil. We have to make our choice whether we should ally ourselves with the forces of evil or with the forces of good. And to pray to God is nothing but that sacred alliance between God and man whereby he attains his deliverance from the clutches of the prince of darkness. But a heartfelt prayer is not a recitation with the lips. It is a yearning from within which expresses itself in every word, every act, nay, every thought of man. When an evil thought successfully assails him, he may know that he has offered but a lip prayer and similarly with regard to an evil word escaping his lips or an evil act done by him. Real prayer is an absolute shield and protection against this trinity of evils. Success does not always attend the very first effort at such real living prayer. We have to strive against ourselves, we have to believe in spite of ourselves, because months are as our years. We have therefore to cultivate illimitable patience if we will realize the efficacy of prayer. There will be darkness, disappointment and even worse; but we must have

courage enough to battle against all these and not succumb to cowardice. There is no such thing as retreat for a man of prayer.

What I am relating is not a fairytale. I have not drawn an imaginary picture. I have summed up the testimony of men who have by prayer conquered every difficulty in their upward progress, and I have added my own humble testimony that the more I live the more I realize how much I owe to faith and prayer which is one and the same thing for me. And I am quoting an experience not limited to a few hours, or days or weeks, but extending over an unbroken period of nearly 40 years. I have had my share of disappointments, uttermost darkness, counsels of despair, counsels of caution, subtlest assaults of pride; but I am able to say that my faith—and I know that it is still little enough, by no means as great as I want it to be—has ultimately conquered every one of these difficulties up to now. If we have faith in us, if we have a prayerful heart, we may not tempt God, may not make terms with Him. We must reduce ourselves to a cipher. Barodada[1] sent me a precious Sanskrit verse not long before his death. It means impliedly that a man of devotion reduces himself to zero. Not until we have reduced ourselves to nothingness can we conquer the evil in us. God demands nothing less than complete self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom that is worth having. And when a man thus loses himself, he immediately finds himself in the service of all that lives. It becomes his delight and his recreation. He is a new man never weary of spending himself in the service of God's creation.

Young India, 20-12-1928

316. DINABANDHU'S TRIBUTE

Dinabandhu Andrews writes as follows from Manchester on Lalaji's death:

> The news of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai was a very terrible shock to me for it was absolutely unexpected. I reached Birmingham very late on Saturday night and my brother told me about it. Since then I have referred to it and made clear in the *Manchester Guardian* how great the loss must be both to India and to England, and indeed to the world of humanity; for he was the friend of the oppressed in every country and knew no racial barriers. What I am now waiting to hear is how far the death was caused by injuries received at the railway station at Lahore

[1] Dwijendranath Tagore, elder brother of Rabindranath Tagore

at the time of the boycott of the Simon Commission. This is not at all made clear in the newspapers here, which are very guarded in their utterances, though there is just a hint about it.

I may add that he cabled to me for correct news to which needless to say I sent a suitable reply.[1]

Young India, 20-12-1928

317. NOTES

Lalaji's Memory

With reference to my note on Dr. Satyapal's telegram[2] which was published in these columns, Lala Dunichand of Ambala writes:[3]

> The publication of Dr. Satyapal's telegram in connection with Lala Lajpat Rai's death in *Young India* of November 29, 1928 and your comments thereon have induced me to write this letter to you which I hope you will be able to publish. I am one of those who had been devoted to Lalaji for nearly all their life and it was only during the last elections that serious and even acute differences had arisen between him and myself. . . . But the blows received by him at the hands of the police and his death shortly after that have naturally and rightly changed altogether my mental attitude towards him and his work. . . . Now I look upon the sum total of his life-work too great to let me entertain any kind of ill will and his life too sacred to be remembered with anything but feelings of genuine respect. I feel as if quite a different kind of relations have sprung up between him and myself after his death. If the question of our differences with him is viewed in this light, we who differed from him and those who differed from us on account of him can again become comrades in the fight for winning freedom for our country.

This is undoubtedly the correct attitude to take and I hope that everybody who had some differences of opinion with Lalaji will adopt the same attitude and work for the common cause.

India's Ambassadress in America

The readers of *Young India* will be glad to share with me the following letter[4] from Mr. R. E. Hume, son of Dr. R. A.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to C. F. Andrews", 29-11-1928.
[2] *Vide* "Good If True", 29-11-1928.
[3] & [4] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

Hume of Nagar, regarding the fine work that is now being done by Devi Sarojini Naidu in America:

> You will be pleased, I am sure, to receive this message concerning the successful start of our friend Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her visit to the United States.
>
> I heard her at her first appearance in New York City. And I have been testifying that I have never heard either from man or from woman the equal of her platform performance for the beauty and flow of English diction and for the structure and sequence of English sentences. . . .
>
> However, more beautiful and significant than the grammatical structure of English sentences were the beauty and goodness and truth of her utterances. I rejoice that Mother India is being presented to America in the person of this charming and potent woman, who is perceiving the spiritual side of American life, and who is similarly conveying to the people here the spiritual side of the Indian people. . . . But I am especially happy thus to report to you promptly the very successful realization of your plan for Mrs. Naidu to visit the United States as an ambassadress from the women and people of India.

AJMAL JAMIA FUND

A Mussalman friend asks the following questions and asks me to reply to them in *Young India*:

> I read *Young India* with intense interest especially the news of Islam. But I am puzzled to hear some undesired news about Ajmal Jamia. Will you kindly reply to the following queries and oblige me?
>
> 1. On what principle is the Jamia being carried on?
> 2. Whether it is solely for Mussalmans or the members of every caste and creed are admitted into it?
> 3. If they are also admitted, how do they manage for their boarding, lodging, etc.?
> 4. How many and who are the members of the managing body, is there any other than Mussalmans upon it?
> 5. The Fund which is being collected by you is handed over to the institution or is still with you?
> 6. If it is still with you, when do you intend to use it and how?

Here are the answers:

The Jamia is carried on, on the broadest principles. The correspondent should study the constitution a copy of which he will get upon application to the authorities in Delhi.

It is in practice solely and naturally for Mussalmans, but members of every caste and creed are freely admitted.

I believe that such students have to make their own boarding arrangements.

Sheth Jamnalalji is one of the trustees. The others are Mussalmans.

The Fund is in the possession of Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj who is the treasurer.

Young India, 20-12-1928

318. WANTED HINDI TEACHERS[1]

The Dakshinā Bhārat Hindi Prachar Sābhā invites applications from educated young men whose mother tongue is Hindi and who are willing to serve as Hindi teachers in South India for a period not less than 2 years. . . . Letters māy be addressed to the Secretary, Hindi Prachar Sabha, High Road, Triplicane, Madras.

W. P. IGNATIUS

I hope that there will be sufficient young men from the North to respond to this appeal.

Young India, 20-12-1928

319. EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS[2]

To a national worker who has been ordered off to far away Orissa where at present cholera is raging, Gāndhiji writes:

And do not be afraid of cholera. . . .[3] observe proper precautions. . . .[4] If in spite of all precautions the worst befalls, there is no help for it. There is no place in the world entirely free from danger. . . .[5] But do as the inner voice prompts you.

To ānother struggling soul he writes:

With the help of Rama we have got to overcome the ten-headed Ravana of passions within us. Success is bound to be ours if we have faith in Rama and surrender ourselves to His grace. Above all do not lose self-confidence. Avoid indulgence of the palate.

To another he says:

There is a world of difference between spinning for sacrifice and spinning for recreation. I would advise you to observe a

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] From Pyarelal's "Wardha Letter", sub-title "Tit-Bits"
[3], [4] & [5] As in the source

religious silence while spinning. It would give you spiritual peace and if you make it a point always to spin at a particular fixed hour, it will automatically regulate your other appointments too and help you to a well-ordered life.

To still another he writes:

You may not force the wearing of khadi on your mother if she is unwilling. But if your faith in khadi is genuine and strong enough it is bound to prove infectious.

To another correspondent again:

My sovereign panacea (for communal troubles) is well known. If either of the parties were completely to purge itself of ill will and patiently bear any injustice that the other side might inflict, a real heart unity between the two was bound to be established in the end. The injustice would come to an end and both sides would become brave. Today they are pitiful cowards.

Young India, 20-12-1928

320. KHADI IN HYDERABAD STATE

At a Co-operative Conference held the other day in the Hyderabad State, the Finance Minister, Sir Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur, delivered an address from which a friend sends me the following translation of his reference to the spinning-wheel:

> But the most important thing to which I wish to draw your attention is our home industries. To preserve and help them is the supreme duty of co-operative societies. If co-operative societies could be organized to distribute domestic implements and raw materials amongst the people, it would be a great boon to the country. For the sake of illustration, I would mention spinning and weaving. If they could be revived in our towns and villages, it would be a great achievement. Quite till the other day, spinning and weaving were commonly practised in our homes. Not only in the huts of the poor but also in the homes of the rich and well-to-do, young girls and their matrons used to utilize their leisure time by spinning; and a variety of things for household use, like carpets, sheets, coverlets, table-cloths, etc., were prepared out of the yarn thus spun. Respectable widows who have no other means of livelihood used to support themselves and their children by spinning and sewing. By popularizing this occupation, you would not only augment the slender resources of the people but by providing them with useful work for filling their spare time save them from falling a prey to many a temptation. I hope that the

> energetic officials of our Department will make a beginning in this direction this year. I shall carefully go through the next year's report to see how many of us have taken to this good work. . . .[1]
>
> We should never forget that man isolated from society is but an animal. He rises to his full estate which has been described as 'little less than the angels' only through mutual aid and co-operation with his fellow-beings. So long as you stand apart, self-sufficing units, so long as 'I' am 'I' and 'you' are 'you', we are only glorified animals called men. When 'I' and 'you' combine to form 'we' we develop a divine force and the process of developing this force is spelt co-operation.

I congratulate the Minister on his pronouncement and trust that the State of Hyderabad will compete with that of Mysore in the spread of the spinning-wheel. Co-operation in spinning is easy and an indispensable thing if khadi is to be placed on a stable basis. A hand-spinning co-operative society will start with a cotton depot where bag cotton, not pressed cotton, will be stored for converting into cards. It will have carders, if the spinners do not themselves card in the initial stages. This depot will keep the necessary furniture, i.e., hand-gins, carding-bows, spinning-wheels, accessories and necessary tools with facility for repairs. The depot will be a distributing, receiving and selling depot and will distribute cotton or slivers as the case may be. It will receive against cash-payment yarn spun by the members and sell to the members khadi woven from their yarn or bought from other places. It will sell khadi at special prices to the spinning members and at ordinary prices to the public. If such societies are formed under State patronage and with State aid, partial or in full, there is really no limit to the possibilities of mass co-operation. Only this presupposes a khadi atmosphere among the officials; in other words, the officials must be converts, lovers and trustees of the masses, not their lords and masters, for whom the masses are born to toil and sweat on starvation wages. If the Finance Minister infects his officials with the zeal which his address shows there is a great future for the people of the State. And Hyderabad unlike Mysore is a vast cotton area.

Young India, 20-12-1928

[1] As in the source

321. TELEGRAM TO MANAGER, ASHRAM, SABARMATI

December 20, 1928

MANAGER
SABARMATI ASHRAM

SHIVABHAI'S SUGGESTION ABOUT MOTHER QUITE GOOD. NO CASTE DINNER PERMISSIBLE BUT MAY PAY CASTE LUMP SUM FOR EDUCATION OR OTHER BENEVOLENT USE.

BAPU

From handwritten draft: S.N. 2456

322. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

WARDHA,
December 20, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today too, I am sure I shall not be able to write a letter which will satisfy me. Preparations are going on for leaving the place. Finding some spare time, I am dictating this letter.

First I shall remove a misunderstanding. I certainly did not apologize to Ramabehn for applying to her the name Makarani. I have always been indulging in such jokes, and the victims of the jokes have always enjoyed them. I apologized to her because I forgot this beautiful joke and, when you wrote to me that Makarani had arrived, I had to ask you whom you meant. Is this not an unpardonable lapse?

What will you say of a father who gives pet names to his children through affection and then forgets them? The poor children may forgive the father, but how can the father forgive himself? All that I can say in my defence is that my family is a large one and is growing in size. Such mistakes, therefore, are likely to occur again. Explain all this to Ramabehn, for the name Makarani will now cling to her for ever.

I stop the work here. Jamnalal's whip[1] is here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 33-4

[1] To restrain Gandhiji from overwork

323. *SPEECH AT WARDHA ASHRAM*[1]

December 20, 1928

You have all set out to become expert spinners, weavers and carders. But that is not enough. Every turn of the spinning-wheel, every throw of the shuttle, every stroke on the carding-bow should awaken a responsive echo in your soul. The task that lies before you is tremendous. You have to reach and establish a living contact with not a few hundred, not a few thousand but millions of the poor that are scattered over the seven lakhs of villages in India. Till that work is accomplished you dare not rest. Then, if you want really to serve the country you must keep your bodies and minds pure so as to make of yourselves a fit instrument for carrying out His work. If you awake every morning with His name on your lips and invoke His aid to help you in your struggles during the day and at night time before retiring take stock of the day's failures and lapses, make a confession of them to your Maker and do a sincere penance for them — the only fitting penance for a lapse is to make a firm resolve not to allow it to happen again — you will thereby build, as it were, a solid wall of protection round you and gradually temptations will cease to assail you.

In the end whilst I shall always recall this period of my stay in your midst with joy and satisfaction, my feeling is not free from a regret; and that is, that in spite of my being in your midst for all these days I have not been able to play with the children of the Ashram, to know them individually by their names, to win their personal friendship and confidence as I would have liked to do. But what could I do? I was so hard pressed by work.

Young India, 10-1-1929

[1] From Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter", which explains: "The period of grace and privilege of our stay at the Wardha Ashram came to an end on the 20th December, 1928 and it was not without a wrench that Gandhiji bade good-bye to his peaceful surroundings to plunge into the seething cauldron of Congress politics in Calcutta. Leave-taking was a touching affair. Gandhiji poured all the poignant pathos of the parting in a few brief sentences that he addressed to the inmates of the Satyāgraha Ashram after the evening prayer."

324. INTERVIEW AT NAGPUR STATION[1]

December 20, 1928

[QUESTION]: What would be your attitude towards a political war of independence?

[ANSWER]: I would decline to take part in it just as I would refuse to support the British Government in any war that it might engage in tomorrow.

But in South Africa you supported an alien Government in its war against the Boers, although it was at that time oppressing the Indians; again in 1914 you supported the British Government in its War against Germany. How is the situation altered since then that you should refuse to support your own country in a war of independence?

The situation today is radically different for me from what it was at the time of the Boer War or the War in 1914. On both the occasions I was a believer in the Empire. I thought that in spite of its lapses the sum total of its activity was beneficial to the world. And though I was against war at that time as I am now, I had no status or strength to refuse to participate in war. I suppressed my private judgment in favour of the duty of an ordinary citizen. My position is wholly different now. I have become by force of circumstances a teacher of non-violence. I claim to enforce my teaching in my own life to the best of my ability and I feel that I have the strength to resist war in my own person.

Then you would not support a national militia?

I would support the formation of a militia under swaraj if only because I realize that people cannot be made non-violent by compulsion. Today I am teaching the people how to meet a national crisis by non-violent means. But it is one thing to adopt non-violence for a specific purpose in a time of crisis, and quite another thing to advocate its adoption by all for all time as a philosophy of life. Not that I consider such adoption to be impossible. But I lack the strength for such a mission. I may

[1] From Pyarelal's "Weekly Letter", which explains: "It was a late hour and the friends had come at the fag-end of an exceptionally busy day for Gandhiji . . . and engaged him in an absorbing conversation on some of the burning questions of the day."

not therefore resist the formation of a national militia. Only I cannot join it myself. I feel quite clearly within me that a militia is unnecessary but I have not the word that would carry conviction to others.

If that be your view, surely you would like our youth to avail themselves of the University Training Corps that have been organized by some universities?

To receive military training under the present Government is to train yourself into a limb of the present system, a limb that is liable to be used against your own people at any time. A Gurkha is an Indian, blood of our blood and bone of our bone, yet he would shoot his own countrymen when ordered to do so.

But our young men will be educated people, they will never consent to do such an unpatriotic act?

You are welcome to that belief if you like but let me tell you that you are living in a fool's paradise. You little realize the demoralizing effect of environment. How many people can you point out in the country today, who having gone under the Government's influence have been able to escape from its hypnotic spell and to keep their independence intact. The British rulers know the workings of human nature. They know that a vast majority of men when they come under a system conform to it especially when it is full of promise for self-aggrandizement. There are educated Indians enough in the Government employ who do the will of their masters even though it may be, as it often is, against national interest. And you do not seem to attach any importance to the fact that the young men who join the corps have to take the oath of allegiance.

Young India, 10-1-1929

325. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 21, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The fact that you did not get a letter on Sunday means that Kanti is not there. He wanted me to write a personal letter to him, which I wrote and enclosed yours in the same cover. This time there has not been a single day without my writing a letter to you. I can leave you without one only when all your worries disappear and the atmosphere there becomes completely purified. I certainly yearn for a time when I need not write letters to

anyone in the Ashram. Such a day will also come. At present, to write letters is no burden to me.

For the Orissa matter you will have to write to Vallabhbhai.

Indu Parekh should go to Calicut or stay in Bardoli. He should stop his studies completely.

Umi must now be out of danger. You need not worry even if she is suffering from pneumonia. The treatment for both is the same, rest and hot water. If she feels hungry, give her milk and fruit juice. I shall write a detailed reply later.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 34

326. SPEECH AT SAMBALPUR[1]

[*December 22, 1928*][2]

I have only one request to make to you and all others concerned, and that is that whatever days of life on this earth are now left to me, they should be utilized for advancing what I regard as the most fruitful work of my life — and that is khadi —and not frittered away for mere demonstrations. You are at liberty to hold your own view as to what the most fruitful activity of my life is but then you should leave me alone.

Referring to the deepening poverty of the country, he said:

While on the one hand the Government is despoiling the country by an evergrowing burden of taxation, the trader is mulcting it yearly of 60 crores of rupees by dumping foreign cloth on it. Is it any wonder that between the upper millstone of taxation and the nether one of exploitation the masses are being ground to powder? In fact it would be a surprise if things were otherwise.

He then went on to describe how three great leaders to whom Utkal owed a deep debt of gratitude, namely, the late Deshbandhu, the late Lalaji and the late Gopabandhu Das had in their lifetime affirmed an unequivocal faith in khadi as a means for village reconstruction and combating poverty of the Indian masses and how that faith had grown and deepened as they approached the end of their earthly journey. The only way in which Utkal could do justice to their memory was by taking to khadi in right earnest and in-

[1] From "Weekly Letter" by Pyarelal. The meeting was held in the morning on the sandy bank of the Mahanadi.

[2] From the reference to the meeting in the following item

suring Utkal against the ravages of nature and of man by its means. Sambalpur had vast potential resources for khadi work in its weaving population. What he therefore wanted of them was to convert Sambalpur into a flourishing khadi centre.

Young India, 10-1-1929

327. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

SAMBALPUR,
December 22, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

After finishing the work at a meeting,[1] I had my meal and am now working at the spinning-wheel. I have some quiet time and so have sat down to reply to your letter which was received here. I had kept aside the other letters with the intention of replying to them in detail. You may, therefore, expect a reply to every point.

So far I have been able to keep to third-class travel, and all of us have been travelling in great comfort. From Nagpur, we were given one section of the carriage, the label "reserved" put on it, so that we experienced no difficulty on the way.

In the meeting here, I sold khadi to my heart's content. There are a number of Gujaratis here. They gave more than eight hundred rupees. I expect that they will make up one thousand before I leave this place. The untouchables here gave me self-spun yarn and also khadi woven by themselves.

The question of agency was discussed in the meeting of the Spinners' Association. I did not have to sit through it. But I had liked your suggestion in principle and, therefore, pressed it at the meeting. All the members have approved of it. It has now been finally decided that, if we are to keep the agency, it will be not in the name of an individual but in the name of the institution. They may let the agency remain with the institution so long as they are satisfied with its work. I have told them that, if they find some other arrangements more convenient, they may certainly make it, and that, if they do so, it will not displease me or any of us. The committee should do fearlessly what they find, on an objective consideration of the matter, to be in the best interest of khadi. A subcommittee has been appointed to

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

take a final decision, and it will do so and inform us. Narandas is included in that committee. The matter will be settled in a few days.

The Mandir will get some money for the expenses which are incurred for Devdas and others. You should pay Devdas's bills. If you have anything to say with regard to the actual figures of expenditure, you may draw my attention to them or make a suggestion directly to Devdas.

Mirabehn and Chhotelal have stayed back in Wardha. Mirabehn will return to the Ashram after completing the work she has started in Bihar. Chhotelal will go to Bombay in a few days and return to the Ashram after learning some details there about bee-keeping. It has been decided that he should finally return there. All the same, it will be good if you and Gangabehn keep up your efforts to attract him there. I suppose those two have gone out to Savali to see the work being done there. Chhotelal gained five pounds in Wardha. Vasumati's weight, too, has gone up and is still increasing. She has gained nearly eight pounds at least. The causes for the increase in the weight of both are oil and mental peace.

Umi must have recovered now. In whooping cough the most important remedy is proper nursing. And we hear of more and more instances of the wonderful effect of sun-bath. This field, of restoring health through the sun, has hardly been explored so far; all the facts about the power of its rays have not been fully investigated yet. I for one believe that innumerable diseases can be cured mainly through different treatments with the sun's rays. Revashankerbhai's Dhiru recovered through such treatment. One of his bones was infected from within. About one pound of pus used to flow out every day. He has now recovered completely through treatment with the sun's rays. Hence complaints like weakness, cough, getting out of breath with the slightest exertion, etc., can certainly be cured by treatment with the sun's rays.

Kishorelal, too, has come to Wardha. But I may say that as he arrived I left. We could, therefore, have no talk. His health may be described as so so. I keep very well. Keshu's low fever has gone and he has gained 4¼ pounds in weight.

More in the next letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised the letter.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 35-7

328. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

SAMBALPUR,
December 22, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Chi. Chhotelal, who has been asked to learn bread-making, had read the literature sent by you and, after observing an ordinary bakery, learnt the work, but it cannot be said that he has mastered the process. It would certainly help if he gets an opportunity of seeing a good bakery and watching the process followed there and the ingredients which are mixed. It would also be good if those ladies demonstrate once the method of making biscuits. Chhotelal will be going there hoping that he will get an opportunity to observe these things and in order to learn about bee-keeping from Vithaldas's brother. Give him whatever help you can. Arrange for him to see a bakery, if you can. If the Tatas have a bakery of their own, probably the manager of the Taj Mahal will help in getting him an opportunity to see it. Please do not be upset if I again and again entrust you with tasks like these. Grandmother must have recovered completely now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4791. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

329. LETTER TO MOHANLAL MISRA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
December 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is an association for the very purpose you mention. It was founded by the late Sir Ganga Ram. I suggest your writing to the Association (Lahore). They have on their list some suitable names.

I think that both the bride and her advisers ought to go a step further and not confine themselves to sub-castes. It ought to be enough if a suitable person can be found from among Brahmins all over India.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. MOHANLAL MISRA
145 NEW MANDI
MUZAFFARNAGAR
U.P.

From a photostat: S.N. 13022

330. LETTER TO BABAN GOKHALAY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[2]
December 22, 1928

MY DEAR GOKHALAY,

Here is a letter from Mr. Bhosle and my reply to him. If you think that they will raise a decent sum and a board of trustees can be formed in which you could have a deciding voice, it may be possible for me to find ten to fifteen thousand rupees. But it would be impossible to get the whole 40 thousand rupees that are required[3].

I do feel that the hostel to be of any use to these friends has to be in Bombay. They do not live in the suburbs and they

[1] & [2] Permanent address

[3] For the construction of a hostel and a hall for depressed classes; *vide* Vol. XXXVII, p. 326.

cannot afford to go there. It is tragic, but it is true that the suburbs are meant not for the poor but for the well-to-do.

If you have leisure I would like you to take special interest in this thing, in forming the trust, seeing people like Mr. Velji. I suggest as trustees you, Mr. Velji, Revashankerbhai, Kishorelal Mashruwala, Jamnalalji, Avantikabai, Bhosle, Nekaljay, Sir Purushottamdas and Devdhar if he will come in.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 2

From a microfilm: S.N. 13817

331. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
December 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I shall be in Calcutta from tomorrow probably for a week. I shall be staying with Sjt. Jiwanlal, 8 Pretoria Street.

I have the summary of the proceedings of the Conference as also the text of your speech. The speech I have not yet been able to read. As soon as I get the time, I shall certainly read it and if there is anything I have to say on it I shall gladly do so.

Mr. Dewick wrote to me[2] before you about Dr. Mott. I would also like to meet him. My movements during January and February will be determined in Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. PAUL[3], ESQ.
5 RUSSEL STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13818

[1] Permanent address

[2] For Gandhiji's reply to Dewick, *vide* "Letter to E. C. Dewick", 12-12-1928.

[3] Chairman of the Committee for Arrangements of the World Student Christian Federation

332. *MY NOTES*

For Lovers of Spinning

With reference to the article[1] which suggests that ginned cotton need not be dried in the sun before carding, Shri Lakshmidas writes:[2]

This important suggestion has been made, thanks to a mistake I had made out of ignorance. I have now come to realize the distinction between *kapas* (unginned cotton) and *ru* (ginned cotton); however, before acquiring that knowledge I had used the two terms as synonymous. Hence, in the article mentioned above, I happened to write *kapas* instead of *ru*. In this manner, good results come out of innocent mistakes.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-12-1928

333. *TELEGRAM TO PRINCIPAL, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH*

December 24, 1928

Principal
Vidyapith
Ahmedabad

CONSULTED VALLABHBHAI. LET ELEVENTH STAND.[3]

Bapu

From a copy: S.N. 2456

[1] *Vide* "Good Carding", 9-12-1928.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had pointed out that Gandhiji in his note on carding had mentioned unginned cotton instead of ginned cotton and that cotton could be ginned only after it had been dried in the sun and threshed and cleaned, whereas ginned cotton had neither to be threshed nor dried. He had also suggested that in making slivers the stick used should have a circumference equal to the length of the fibres of the cotton, for only then could the strands easily separate from the sliver while the yarn was being twisted.

[3] The seventh convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith was held on 11-1-1929.

334. TELEGRAM TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 24, 1928

CHHAGANLAL
UDYOGA MANDIR
SABARMATI

YOU HAVE DONE BRAVELY. HOPE NOW RAMA REALIZES UMI'S[1] SOUL NOT DEAD AND ALL ASHRAM CHILDREN HERS.

BAPU

From a copy: S.N. 2456

335. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON

December 24, 1928

PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON
PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK
LAHORE

JUST HEARD YOUR LOSS. GOD GIVE YOU PEACE. YOU WILL COME IF POSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a copy: S.N. 2456

336. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[CALCUTTA,]
December 24, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your note. This is Xmas eve. If Xmas has a special memory and special meaning for you, may you have on that day a purer and greater grasp of the realities of life. You have a sound heart and, therefore, all will be well with you. I knew you were happy and at peace in Wardha and to see you so made me happy.

[1] Who died of pneumonia

Motilalji had work cut out for me as soon as I reached the station. So I was able to spin only at night.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5327. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8217

337. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

CALCUTTA,
Silence Day, December 24, 1928

SISTERS,

Today I have time only for a short letter.

I have written a letter to Durgabehn[1]. Please read it because it applies to all of you. You women should learn a lesson from the death of Umi. All the children of the Ashram are the children of all of you. If any of them dies, take it that God has taken it away. If new ones are born, take it that God has sent them to you. Even if new births do not add to the number of children in the Ashram, the coming of new families add to their number. If we learn to cherish equal love for all of them, we shall not feel the pain of separation from Umi, though we should strive to understand its deeper meaning.

We shall meet soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3668

338. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [December 24, 1928][2]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have received your letters. Father is here, his health is fair. I have not been able to see him so far. I am glad to know that you are getting well acquainted with Kusum.

[1] Wife of Mahadev Desai

[2] From the reference to the growing acquaintance between Kusum and the addressee, this letter appears to have been written in 1928, and Gandhiji hoped to meet addressee's father in Calcutta where he had gone to attend the session of the Indian National Congress.

You need not keep anything from her. Being firm herself she can advise you correctly. However much other people may dissuade you, always inform me if anyone falls ill.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3319

339. LETTER TO V. G. JANARDAN RAO

CALCUTTA,
December 26, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have transferred it to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla who will correspond with you directly.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. V. G JANARDAN RAO
GURU RAJA VILAS
SRIRAMPET, MYSORE

From a copy: S.N. 26908

340. SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON NEHRU REPORT, CALCUTTA CONGRESS–I[1]

December 26, 1928

Mahatma Gandhi in an introductory speech delivered in Hindustani before moving the resolution said that the gravity of the situation demanded that he should also put his views before the country. Although he liked to speak in Hindustani, circumstances demanded that he should move the resolution in English. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then read out the text of the resolution.

This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report[2] welcomes

[1] At the Subjects Committee Meeting

[2] As a result of the All-Parties Conference's resolution, a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft the principles of a constitution before 1-7-1928. The report of this Committee, known as the Nehru Report, was submitted at the All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow from August 28 to 30, 1928. *Vide* Vol. XXXVII.

it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and whilst adhering to the resolution relating to Complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress adopts the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country, provided however that the Congress shall not be bound by the constitution, if it is not accepted on or before the 31st December 1930 and provided further that in the event of non-acceptance by the British Parliament of the constitution by that date the Congress will revive non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every aid to the Government.

The President is hereby authorized to send the text of this resolution together with a copy of the said report to His Excellency the Viceroy for such action as he may be pleased to take.

Nothing in the resolution shall interfere with the propaganda for familiarizing the people with the goal of independence in so far as it does not conflict with prosecution of a campaign for the adoption of the said Report.[1]

(2) Meanwhile the Congress shall engage in the following activities: (a) In the legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organized wherever desirable and possible. (b) Inside and outside legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar. (c) Specific grievances, wherever discovered and where people are ready, shall be sought to be redressed by non-violent action as was recently done at Bardoli. (d) Members of legislatures returned on Congress tickets shall devote the bulk of their time to the constructive work settled from time to time by the Congress

[1] To this, amendments were moved by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Their aim was to put no time-limit, nor, even by implication, to accept for India Dominion Status as contemplated in the constitution drawn up by the All-Parties Conference (at Delhi). Subsequently, this resolution was withdrawn. For the resolution approved by the Congress, *vide* "Speech on Resolution on Nehru Report, Calcutta Congress-II", 28-12-1928.

Committee. (e) Congress organizations shall be perfected by enlisting members and enforcing strictest discipline. (f) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses. (g) Measures shall be taken to remove disabilities of women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national upbuilding. (h) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition. (i) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up village reconstruction in addition to what is being done through the spinning-wheel and khaddar. (j) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation-building in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure co-operation in national efforts of the people engaged in different pursuits. In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme every Congressman with a monthly income of Rs. 100 and over shall contribute five per cent of his monthly income provided that in special cases exemption may be granted at the discretion of the Working Committee.[1]

Continuing, Mahatmaji said:

Friends, I hope I shall not detain you for many minutes in my introductory remarks. It is an open secret that we have in our camp sharp differences of opinion as to the lead Congressmen should receive in connection with the epoch-making Report. I call it an epoch-making Report of the All-Parties Constitution Committee. We have the Delhi resolution[2] and the first thing that strikes anybody would be why not affirm or reaffirm the Delhi resolution dealing with this question. If it could have been done consistently with national interest there would have been an end to all new resolutions and certainly I would not have troubled you. I must take you in confidence and tell you that the President himself felt that the Delhi resolution required rethinking and revision. Some of us putting our heads together

[1] This clause on constructive programme was later passed, after a few amendments, as a separate resolution; *vide* pp. 312-3.

[2] Passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi on November 3, 1928. It reiterated the demand for Complete Independence and accepted the Nehru Committee recommendations for the settlement of communal differences.

came to the conclusion that the Delhi resolution was a self-contradictory resolution. So we cast about to find a middle path so that consistently with honesty and with desire to accept the Nehru Report we should frame another resolution. This resolution is the result of it. Even as it is, this resolution is an attempt to satisfy and if not to satisfy at least to conciliate those schools of thought that are prevailing in the Congress with regard to the Report. That we have two schools of thought is no matter of misfortune or grief.

I suggest to you that the purpose of Congressmen should be to adopt the Nehru Report in the same spirit in which it was received by the whole of India at the time it was published. Let me recall to you that at the time of its publication it was not only enthusiastically received by the nation but it commanded, it extorted, the unstinted admiration of our critics, of our opponents and of outsiders who were disinterested spectators. It is, if you choose to do so, open to you to say that we shall not accept the Report, but I say it would be bad if we came to such a conclusion hastily. But if after the first flash of enthusiasm had died out and after a careful study of the Report we come to the conclusion that the best interests of the nation will not be served by accepting the Report, it would be your bounden duty, though painful, to reject it. I suggest to you either we should give our wholehearted support or we should not support it at all. It is a document which is not an end in itself but the beginning of the end. It is a document which is designed to bring together as many important parties as it is possible with a view to concentrating their attention and efforts upon some common purpose in connection with our political advance.

When the Committee approached its labours you must know that the horizon was dark. I know myself there were tremendous difficulties and there was a time when there was nothing but despair staring the members in the face, but Dr. Ansari and your President were not men who would give in easily to despair. They fought the tide of despair and how successfully you know and the world knows.

You the Congressmen are the authors of this Convention and in the same breath that you adopted complete national independence as your goal you asked the Working Committee to have the Convention of all parties with a view to framing a scheme of swaraj as I call it or call it a constitution that would be acceptable to the majority of the parties and you had a committee consisting of the most eminent men in the country known for their services to the

country and you imposed on Congressmen the labours of bringing together all these men and getting them to go as near the Congress goal as they could possibly do. This must have been in your minds at the time you thought of the Convention, and at the time of asking the Working Committee to call a Convention into being.

That being so I suggest that unless there are overwhelming reasons for you not to accept the Report, it must be accepted by you. You cannot take this Report piecemeal or chop it up, for it is an organic whole. Just as you cannot chop a body and say I will have so much of the body and will not have the other half, so you do not chop this Report and say you will accept this part and not the other one. As Dr. Ansari has pointed out if you attack the central theme of the Report you stab the heart itself and the centre is what is known as Dominion Status. I suggest to you that it will be a grievous blunder to pit Independence against Dominion Status or compare the two and suggest that Dominion Status carries humiliation with it and that Independence is something that is triumphant. I do not want to go into the controversy just now. I simply say to you as a man of business wanting to serve the nation, wanting to educate the masses and influence the masses and desiring to enlist active co-operation of the masses in order to vindicate the honour of the nation. I suggest if you seek to do all these things you will think fifty times before you will go to the masses and compare these two things. Don't run to the hasty conclusion that the distinguished authors of the Report had the interest of the country less at their heart than any of us, or most of us. Do not run away with the hasty conclusion that they want anything else than Complete Independence for the country. The word 'independence' is much abused and is an equally misunderstood word. The contents of that word would vary with the strength that the nation can call to its aid from time to time. ("Hear, hear.") Independence of Nepal is not attained in the same way as independence of America. Then there is independence of the feudatory States — they flatter themselves sometimes with the belief that they are independent and they are sometimes called semi-independent States — they adopt the role of independence in their relations with their subjects. That is a species of independence. Let us not therefore make too much of that one word and let us not belittle the other two words (Dominion Status). I as a tried worker, as one who knows something of the masses, desire to warn you against confusing the mind of the nation. For you will simply entrap them and leave them in trap holes. Beware of doing any such thing.

I suggest that the utmost that a man desires — independence — has been given to him by this resolution. The Madras resolution gives you the goal of the Congress. It tells you that Independence shall be the goal, but it has not declared independence. You are not now working for independence of the type that the authors of that resolution had in their mind. In one way we are all striving for independence. The Congress creed is the creed of independence. I challenge anybody to deny that. That is the process of evolution, but some of us consider that we should have the word 'independence' incorporated in the same resolution of the Congress so that we can put it before the nation. By all means have it, keep that word; but in considering this resolution I desire to tell you that, in the process of working, the very pace of independence is accelerated by it and not retarded. You might have easily slept over the goal you set before yourselves in Madras. But here by this resolution you dare not sleep over your goal; for at the end of two years you will have to work out your independence and practically you will have to declare independence. Some of us, and I include myself among them if I survive two years, may have to die in order to give a good account of ourselves for the sake of achieving independence and it may be till it is achieved, you will have to see our carcases. I yield to none in my desire to attain completest independence. So long as there is any one man who can interfere with my freedom or with the nation's freedom it is intolerable and I consider that I live in vain. The fire of independence is burning within me as much as in the most fiery breast of anyone in the country but the ways and methods may differ and it may be that when I am nearing my destiny on this earth you may say, 'For independence we may wait for fifty years'. If it is so, you will tell me and point out that I am weakened and you will then not listen to me but hiss me out of the Congress platform. And I shall consider myself unworthy to serve the nation. I want to dedicate what little strength I may have to the nation and not my weakness. For my weakness I shall answer before my Maker. For my strength it is all at your disposal. Do not run away with the idea for a single moment that I want to suggest anything less than what the nation can have today or what the nation should have tomorrow. Therefore I suggest that if really you want to work out the resolution of the Madras Congress for Independence you have got the amplest possible scope in this resolution but with one supreme condition that having called the Convention into being you must be faithful to that Report as you will be faithful to your goal.

I would ask you to interpret that Report in terms of that goal and feel that the authors of that Report have also the goal of Independence in view and remember that the Chairman of that Committee which brought out the Report is the President of your Congress. I do not want to dissect this resolution at this stage but I want you to dismiss, in considering this resolution, all personal factors. I do not want you to become my patron. I want you to treat me as a comrade marching side by side with you and I also want you to outbid me in the march towards the goal. You may say, 'Doctors have ordered rest for you, you can take well-deserved rest, we shall run and if you march side by side with us we may have to crawl.' I say crawling we have buried in that wretched lane at Amritsar. We shall never crawl. I do not ask you to consider this resolution in any patronizing spirit, nor does your President stand in need of any patronage. I can swallow patronage, but not he. Eliminate therefore all considerations and make your own choice.

The Report is merely the commencement of the end. There is a lot of work to be done to achieve the purpose behind it. There is much spade-work even in this Congress. The Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and every other organization has got to do its duty before we can launch out that Report upon the wide ocean. It is necessary for you to chalk out a resolution which will satisfy all needs of that Report and not merely say: 'All right, we accept the Report lest anybody should be offended or in order that diplomats may go on with diplomacy and steal something for us.' It will not come by stealing. Freedom has never come by stealing. It has come by bleeding and you will have to bleed even for getting what is attempted in that Report.

I therefore want you to accept that Report whole-heartedly with the fixed determination to work for that goal. I do not want to wash down your goal. I want you to sustain your goal. If you wish you may misinterpret it or interpret it in any other way. I hope you will approach consideration of this resolution in a national spirit and if I may also say in a prayerful spirit.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 27-12-1928

341. UNITY IN THE PUNJAB

With reference to my note[1] in *Young India* on Dr. Satyapal's telegram he has sent me the following letter[2] which I welcome:

> I am deeply obliged to you for your letter of 28th November[3] (in reply to my telegram and letter) and also for the valuable comments made by you thereon in *Young India.*
>
> I wish to assure you that every word of that telegram is heartfelt and sincere and is not prompted by any momentary impulse and interested reason, or any outward pressure. . . . The passing away of Lala Lajpat Rai throws a very heavy burden of responsibilities on the shoulders of the nationalist workers and they cannot afford to have any split in that camp. . . .
>
> One point however I want to make quite clear. I have not been able to appreciate the idea of your finding 'repentance' on our part in that telegram. I have read the telegram several times over and still have not been able to find any words which signify any repentance on my part for my having opposed Lala Lajpat Rai during his lifetime when I felt it necessary to do so. . . .
>
> I pay my heartfelt tribute to the memory of Lala Lajpat Rai but that does not mean that I subscribe to everything he advocated or championed. . . .

Young India, 27-12-1928

342. CURSE OF ASSASSINATION

The assassination[4] of the Assistant Superintendent Mr. Saunders of Lahore was a dastardly act apart from whether it had a political motive behind it or not. Violence being in the air, there will no doubt be silent and secret approbation of the act, especially if it is discovered to have had any connection with the assault on Lalaji and his utterly innocent comrades. The provocation was great and it became doubly great by the death of Lalaji which was

[1] *Vide* "Good If True", 29-11-1928.

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[3] *Vide* p. 110.

[4] On 17-12-1928. Later, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were accused in the Lahore conspiracy case and sentenced to death.

certainly hastened by the nervous shock received by him from the disgraceful conduct of the police. Some will insist, not without considerable justification, on ascribing the death even to the physical effect of the injury received by the deceased in the region of the heart. The provocation received also additional strength from the Punjab Government's defence of the police conduct. I should not wonder if the assassination proves to be in revenge of the high-handed policy of the Punjab Government.

I wish however that it was possible to convince the hot youth of the utter futility of such revenge. Whatever the Assistant Superintendent did was done in obedience to instructions. No one person can be held wholly responsible for the assault and the aftermath. The fault is that of the system of Government. What requires mending is not men but the system. And when the youth of the country have the real determination they will find that it is in their power as it is in nobody else's to kill the system.

English books have taught us to applaud as heroic deeds of daring, even of freebooters, villains, pirates and train-wreckers. Newspapers fill columns with exciting stories real or, in their absence, imaginary, of such deeds. Some of us have successfully learnt this art of applauding as heroic anything adventurous irrespective of the motives or contemplated results behind such deeds.

This cannot be regarded as anything but a bad omen. Surely there is nothing heroic about a cold-blooded robbery accompanied by murder of an innocent wealthy pilgrim carrying treasures for distribution in well-conceived charity. There is equally none in the deliberate secret assassination of an innocent police officer who has discharged his duty however disagreeable its consequences may be for the community to which the assassin belongs. Let us remember that the administrators of the system have held on to the system in spite of previous assassinations. After all the story of the building of the British Empire is not itself wanting in deeds of valour, adventure and sacrifice worthy, in my opinion, of a better cause. If we may regard the assassination of Mr. Saunders as a heroic deed the British people would be able to answer this one, I hope, solitary act of so-called heroism with countless such acts enough to fill a volume. But it is time we began irrespective of nationalities to regard deeds with mean motives or meaner consequences with nothing but horror, indignation and disapprobation, no matter how daring they may be. I know that this means a new valuation of such terms as heroism, patriotism, religiousness and the like. No one, I hope, regards the

assassinations of Presidents Cleveland[1] and Carnot[2] as reflecting any credit upon the assassins or the nations in whose cause the mad men carried out their evil plans. Islam is not better for the assassination of so many Caliphs or, to take a modern instance, for the assassination of the late Swami Shraddhanandji. Nor has Hinduism been ennobled by the frenzied deeds one occasionally reads about of so-called protectors of the cow. The curse of assassination and kindred crimes is not advancing the progress to humanity, religion or true civilization.

Let the youth of India realize that the death of Lalaji can only be avenged by regaining her freedom. Freedom of a nation cannot be won by solitary acts of heroism even though they may be of the true type, never by heroism so-called. The temple of freedom requires the patient, intelligent, and constructive effort of tens of thousands of men and women, young and old. Acts such as we are deploring decidedly retard the progress of this quiet building. When it does nothing else, it diverts the attention of countless builders.

Young India, 27-12-1928

343. *ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION*[3]

The draft constitution proposed by Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar and Babu Rajendra Prasad for the All-India Spinners' Association as circulated amongst the members of the Executive Council of the Association and published in the papers was considered by the Council of the Association at its meetings held at Wardha on the 18th and 19th instant and was finally adopted with slight amendments.

The following were appointed as trustees for the permanent board: 1. Mahatma Gandhi, 2. Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, 3. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, 4. Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande, 5. Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya, 6. Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, 7. Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru, 8. Sjt. Manilal Kothari, 9. Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, 10. Babu Rajendra Prasad, 11. Sjt. Shankerlal G. Banker.

The twelfth seat was kept vacant. The elections of the remaining three trustees retirable annually will take place in due course.

[1] Stephen Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States of America

[2] Marie Francois Sadi Carnot (1837-94), fourth President of the French Republic

[3] Presumably signed by Gandhiji without revising

Copies of the constitution can be had from the central office at Ahmedabad.

Young India, 27-12-1928

344. A SINDH CURSE

The Amils of Sindh are probably the most advanced community in that province. But in spite of all their advance, there are some serious abuses of which they seem to have a monopoly. Of these the custom of *deti-leti*[1] is not the least serious. I have more than once remarked upon it in these columns. My attention was drawn to this abuse during my very first visit to Sindh and I was invited to speak to the Amil friends about it. Though no doubt isolated work has been done in the direction of removing this abuse, no organized effort seems to have been made to end the evil. The Amils are a compact little community. The seriousness of the evil is not questioned by anybody. I have not known a single Amil to defend the vile custom. It has persisted because it is a custom patronized by the educated youth among the Amils. Their mode of life is above the means they can honestly command. Hence they have thrown all scruples to the wind and do not mind degrading themselves by prostituting the institution of marriage for their own base ends. And this one vicious habit has told upon the quality of their national work which otherwise by their intellect and education they are capable of doing to the great benefit of the country.

In order to put an end to this evil, a provisional committee has already been formed now of which Acharya A. T. Gidwani has accepted the presidentship. This is as it should be. When he undertook to go to Sindh from Brindaban it was naturally expected that he would throw himself with zest into all desirable movements that conduce to national well-being. It is to be hoped that the provisional committee will soon become a permanent organization and under his able leadership the reform which is already belated will make steady progress.

The Secretary, Sjt. Mirchandani, asks me for suggestions. The only suggestion that I can think of just now is that this organization should create a public opinion against *deti-leti* that would become irresistible. Your educated Amils are able to squeeze the poor parents of marriageable girls only because there

[1] Dowry

is no active public opinion against the custom. There should be work done in the schools and colleges and amongst the parents of girls. The parents should so educate their daughters that they would refuse to marry a young man who wanted a price for marrying and would rather remain spinsters than be party to the degrading terms. The only honourable terms in marriage are mutual love and mutual consent.

Young India, 27-12-1928

345. MILK FOR BOMBAY

A friend on reading the article 'A Blot on Bombay' in *Young India* (29th November) writes to Mahadev Desai as follows:[1]

I am afraid that the writer of the letter has misunderstood the article in question. No one has suggested that the question of the slaughter of cattle in Bombay or of the supply of pure milk will be solved by shifting the stables from the city of Bombay to the suburbs of Bombay. What is required and what has been suggested is that Bombay should bravely face the problem as behoves it. Surely the Gujaratis who are not living in Bombay are not the philanthropists who might be expected to come to the rescue of Bombay and solve one of its tremendous and equally urgent problems. The Municipality of Bombay has to take the initiative and make the move and if need be enlist the sympathy and co-operation of philanthropically-inclined Gujaratis. I fear that even if anybody outside Bombay wanted to come to the rescue, he would require special facilities from the Bombay Corporation. But we have not in this country the requisite capacity for private enterprise which would take great risks involved in a big venture that the supply of milk to a large city like Bombay undoubtedly is. Let it be also known that such private effort has been made before now in Bombay and it failed. I think that failure had definite causes. There was not sufficient grit and ability behind those ventures. But I submit that no cost is too great, no enterprise too risky for the Municipality of Bombay to undertake in order to ensure a supply of cheap and pure milk for its citizens and to rid Bombay of stables which are a source of danger to its health and which must be always coming in the way of any radical measure for dealing with malaria and other diseases which are rampant in Bombay. I freely admit that Bombay has

[1] This is not reproduced here.

to travel outside its radius for the organization of a vast dairy scheme. But that every city in the world has done for many of its wants.

Young India, 27-12-1928

346. TELEGRAM TO LABOUR UNION, AHMEDABAD

December 27, 1928

LABOUR
AHMEDABAD

YOUR LETTER. REACHING AHMEDABAD FOR CERTAIN BEFORE 11TH JANUARY.[1]

BAPU

From a copy: S.N. 2456

347. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

8 PRETORIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
December 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter. I am so hemmed in that in this place of long distances, much as I should like to, it is not possible for me to go to your house. But if you could take the chance of finding me at the above address, please come tomorrow, the 28th instant at 8 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. B. MORENO, ESQ.
PRESIDENT, THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
2 WELLESLEY SQUARE, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13024

[1] In the dispute between the workers and the management of the Gujarat Ginning Mill, Gandhiji was a member of the Arbitration Board.

348. LETTER TO RAJA OF KANIKA

8 PRETORIA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
December 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Much as I should like to send you an appointment, I am so much pressed for time that I hardly know whether I could give you an appointment before the Congress meets. I would therefore ask you to tell me briefly in writing what you want to say.

Yours sincerely,

THE RAJA OF KANIKA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13822

349. LETTER TO HOWARD HANLEHURST

AS AT SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
December 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would not take the responsibility of advising you to come here. Though there is no movement in India called by the name[1] that your movement bears, the spirit of brotherhood is there and works away silently. I fancy that your abilities can be more economically and usefully employed in your natural environments.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD HANLEHURST, ESQ.
CHESTER-LE-STREET, ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 15101

[1] Brotherhood of the World Association of Youth

350. A LETTER

AS AT SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
December 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter received during Christmas week. I send you therefore my very best wishes.

I welcome your questions. So long as we indirectly sustain a system and derive our own support from it, so long are we bound to give it even direct support, unless we feel that the system being bad presents an effective opportunity for destroying it. The question when the opportunity is effective can only be determined in every individual case by one's own strength of conviction and corresponding self-confidence. At the time of my participation in the Boer War and the late War, I saw neither the effective opportunity nor had I the confidence. Seeker after God which is Truth does not bother when the opportunity is effective or about self-confidence. God gives him the light when his time has come. All that man can do, is required to do, is to keep himself pure, humble to the extent of becoming a cipher in very truth. The light at the correct time is assured for him. Such a seeker confines himself to progressively narrow participation in a system in which he finds himself and from which he is too unable to extricate himself wholly at a bound.

I think that the second question is partly if not wholly answered in the foregoing. I can only add that a silent prayer is often more effective than the spoken word consciously uttered. Therefore in irresponsive surroundings like those of the Wall Street a reliance must be placed exclusively upon silent prayer accompanied by the strictest uncompromising conduct.

I am not absolutely sure of the European visit. But if I do go to Europe next year and if there is a call from within to go to America and if I have the time I would certainly go. But here again I am following my tried prescription within for light and guidance.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N.15127

351. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS[1]

CALCUTTA,
December 27, 1928

Being in the midst of all turmoil I have not much time to send you a love letter much as I should like during this Christmas week. Tucker[2] has been constantly with me and was anxious to join the morning prayer on Christmas day and give appropriate hymns, but could not as his friends failed him at the last moment.

I am dictating this just for one thing, and that is Lalaji's book. After very careful consideration I have come to the conclusion that it is unnecessary just now to publish an abridgement of *Unhappy India*. Lalaji's wish about the circulation of a thousand copies in Britain should be respected, not by presenting copies gratis to anybody except those who may want it but by keeping a stock there for sale. The third edition printed here is a well-got-up volume attractively bound. It may be sold even cheap. But it is the Indian copy which should be circulated there.

I do not attach much importance to replies to Miss Mayo's calumny, however able and true they may be, and certainly not much importance will be given in the West to an Indian contribution. What must however be done is to present the West with a very brief and attractive volume containing the life and selections from all Lalaji's writings. Such a volume will illustrate the truth that the most forward nationalists of India have not been haters of the West or of England or in any other way narrow but that they have been internationalists under the guise of nationalism. Such were Lalaji, Tilak, Das. I hardly need to mention many others. It may serve the cause of humanity if the truth can be brought out that the men who have been persecuted and practically done to death by this wicked Government had deserved a better fate.

I have perhaps not yet made absolutely clear what I want to say. But I have no doubt you have understood it.

[1] In his letter dated 28-11-1928, the addressee had enquired about the publication of an English edition of Lala Lajpat Rai's *Unhappy India*, and expressed concern about the misunderstanding created in the West by Miss Mayo's *Mother India*.

[2] Boyd William Tucker

Ba, Mahadev, Subbiah, Pyarelal, Krishnadas, Chhaganlal, Jamnadas, Keshu, Jamnalal and Rajagopalachari and several others whom you know intimately are with me.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOVER STREET
LONDON W.C. 1

From a photostat: S.N. 15128

352. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

Friday [On or before *December 28, 1928*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your letters come regularly. There are many Bombay friends travelling up and down. Some of them may escort you. I shall write to Mrityunjaya.

I am very careful in conducting my experiment of taking oil. I shall give it up if it does any harm.

Ba is slightly indisposed today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3317

353. *SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON NEHRU REPORT, CALCUTTA CONGRESS—II*[2]

December 28, 1928

When Pandit Motilal called upon Mahatma Gandhi to move the new resolution a member objected to this procedure so long as the original resolution[3] and the amendments had not been withdrawn.

The President ruled that Mahatmaji might take the permission of the house to substitute his resolution. All other amendments would be considered as amendments to the substituted resolution.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 10-12-1928 (pp. 196-7), mentioning the experiment in taking oil and "Letter to Kusum Desai", 30-12-1928, which mentions Prabhavati's absence from the Ashram.

[2] At the Subjects Committee meeting

[3] *Vide* "Speech on Resolution on Nehru Report, Calcutta Congress-I", 26-12-1928.

Thereupon Mahatma Gandhi in moving the withdrawal of his original resolution made an important statement giving an idea as to what had happened behind the scenes. He said:

Before I move the resolution which has been circulated to you, I beg leave of the house to withdraw the resolution which I had the honour of moving the other day and to which so many amendments have already been moved. I know that in asking for permission to withdraw my resolution I owe to the house an apology. You have been put to considerable inconvenience and trouble and a great deal of time has been given to the consideration of the amendments. I was going to say that a great deal of time was wasted but it would not be proper to call it a waste of time, because the consideration of these propositions has enabled you to understand more fully than ever before the mental condition of many of the national workers. It is perfectly correct to insist upon leave being granted for the withdrawal of the resolution into which I had put so much force and to which I attach a great deal of importance, but the national life is a perpetual struggle whilst it is growing. It is a struggle not only against the environments that seek to crush us but also a struggle between our own ranks. Often the struggle between our own ranks is more prolonged, more exacting and even more bitter than the struggle against the environment which is outside ourselves. You may depend upon it that we who were behind the resolution which will be withdrawn and those who were behind the principal amendment of Pandit Jawaharlal put their heads together and wanted to avoid a conflict. Mr. Sambamurthi was surprised why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not here today. He may very well be surprised and I propose to take you into confidence. He was, as he said at the outset, not in sympathy with much that was going on in our midst. He has become impatient to throw off the yoke. Every twenty-four hours of his life he simply broods upon the grievances of his countrymen. He is impatient to remove the grinding pauperism of the masses. He is impatient against capitalists who are in the country exploiting the masses as he is against the capitalists who rule over this country and exploit and bleed this country in the words of late Lord Salisbury. I may tell you frankly that he is not in sympathy even with this resolution which I seek to substitute for the resolution which will be withdrawn if you give permission. He thinks this resolution itself falls far short of what he wants but, a high-souled man as he is, he does not want to create unnecessary bitterness. Bitterness and worse he is prepared to face if face them he

must. He sees deliverance out of it by seeking to impose silence upon himself and remaining absent. Hence you find that even though he is a Secretary, and a faithful and diligent Secretary of the Congress, he feels that it is better for him this morning to absent himself than be a helpless witness to proceedings with which he is not in sympathy. I am sorry because I do not share his discontent over this resolution, while I share all his grief, the intensity of grief, over the pauperism of our country and the slavery which is grinding us down. I do not share his belief that what we are doing at the present moment is not sufficient for the present needs of the country. But how can he help feeling dissatisfied? He would not be Jawaharlal if he did not strike out for himself an absolutely unique and original line in pursuance of his path. He considers nobody, not even his father, nor wife, nor child. His own country and his duty to his own country he considers and nothing else.

Now you understand why he is absent and now perhaps you will also understand why I have to perform the painful duty of withdrawing the resolution which I moved, not because I am sorry for that resolution, not because I am not in love with that resolution, not because the one I am now going to move is a better resolution by any means; I hold that that was far superior to the resolution which is now in my hand. But, as I have said, our life is a perpetual struggle against oppressive environments and a perpetual struggle within our ranks. If we want unity, then adjustment and readjustment, a series of compromises honourable to both parties and to variety of opinions, is to be effected. We invest every occasion with the importance of a sacred *siddhanta* or principle from which not an iota should be removed. Many of the things which we call by the name of principles are no more principles than so many details which we do not call principles, and therefore this resolution is a result of attempts on the part of all parties in this house or those parties who are interested in that resolution and its principal amendments. It is a resolution of compromise between them, of a series of adjustment and readjustment between them. Hence, I feel that I am doing nothing wrong, not only that I am doing nothing wrong in asking for permission to withdraw that resolution although I consider it far superior to the resolution which I will presently move before you, but because I know that our national interest will be better served by the resolution which I consider far inferior to the former resolution because it will hold all parties together. They are no more inclined to divide the house than

I was or Pandit Motilal was. Both of us were for dividing the house because we thought that we would win, but what would that victory mean if it increased the bitterness, if it increased the weakening of our national unity and our national forces?

There were not three or four people behind my original resolution but two parties behind it and even the principal amendment of Pandit Jawaharlal was a compromise. Even that fell far short of what he held to be dear to him, but he said, "If I could keep together all the different elements in the country I would waive my objection and move this resolution." Hence you see that even that resolution was a result of compromise just as this is. Therefore if you still think that you will shoulder the responsibility and you consider that the interests of the country will be better served by not allowing me to withdraw that resolution, of course you can shoulder that responsibility, but remember what it means. I now leave the proposition in your hands.[1] (Applause)

There are in our midst today those who would stop at nothing, who in their impatience do not mind if they rush headlong even to perdition. What are we to do? What am I to do—a man approaching his end? What am I to say to those flowers of the country who prize its liberty just as much as I do, if not perhaps much more? What am I to say to it? Am I to say that I shall no longer come with you because I consider that my principle is better, my method is better, therefore you shall work out your own destiny; you shall work out that without my services? I assure you, it is not without a considerable pain, that I have taken up this position. I could have defied them just as they could have defied me, but they say: 'We do not do it, because we want your services also, if we get them; but not altogether at your price. We want you to pay the same price to us also. We want you to meet us also.' I could not possibly resist it without stultifying myself and without degrading myself. Although I feel it was a better resolution, I will move this with all the force at my command and with all the insistence that I put into the original resolution. This resolution, therefore, considering the circumstances, becomes really, for the time being, superior to the resolution that I moved and hence I ask for your leave to withdraw that resolution and let me put before you this resolution for your consideration.

If after what I have told you, if after I have taken you

[1] Here a member raised a point of order that Gandhiji should not be allowed to make a speech in withdrawing the resolution.

into the secrets and if after I have told you of something which induced me to withdraw my resolution, if after all that you do not want that my original resolution be withdrawn and if you care to take that serious responsibility upon your shoulders, you can say that the resolution shall not be withdrawn. Then your vote will be tantamount to your voting for that resolution. But I warn you against that serious responsibility.[1]

The President asked the house to signify its desire whether leave be allowed to Mahatmaji to withdraw his former resolution and move the present agreed one. This was given by the whole house with show of hands. There were only four dissentients.

Mahatmaji then moved his resolution:

> This Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to Complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, especially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.
>
> Subject to the exigencies of the political situation this Congress will adopt the Constitution, if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organize a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.
>
> Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for Complete Independence.

In moving the substituted resolution Mahatma Gandhi said:

Friends, I don't want to inflict a long speech upon you but I must confess to you that I have not been able to collect my thoughts, my brain is muddled and I have got to put my thoughts together as I proceed. It is really a fact that my brain is mud-

[1] After the speech, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed the withdrawal of Gandhiji's former resolution.

dled. A physician will tell you what happens to a man who has to undergo an all-night vigil and that anxiously following the delicate proceedings as I had to do in a little tent nearby when the Convention Committee was meeting to which I was dragged, not called, by our Chairman. I had hoped that I would not have to attend that Committee, but a peremptory summons came and I had to jump into a car that brought me to the place which I could not leave before half past two in the morning after which it was no longer possible for me to go and sleep.

You will now see what I mean when I say I have got a muddled brain.

The resolution that I have the honour of moving, you have already heard. I want you first of all to consider what has been omitted from the original resolution. It is necessary to do so not in order to commend this resolution to your attention because I know that this resolution having been accepted by the two parties, large parties in this house, it does not need any commendation. Even if I merely place this resolution before you I feel it is absolutely safe in your hands. There may be a few who may vote against it but it is not my purpose merely to get this resolution passed. That is the least important part of it. But my purpose is to draw your attention upon what is expected of you, why you are having this resolution and not the original resolution passed and what is expected of the party which is instrumental in having the first resolution watered down. You will find there is a glaring omission for which I am sorry. That is the omission in connection with the sending of the resolution to the Viceroy. I could understand even whilst I was drawing that clause that when it would be read to you some of you would be shocked and say to yourselves: 'Thou too, non-co-operator!' I rehearsed that to myself. But a non-co-operator, the author of non-co-operation, has brought in that clause and if I could even now convince you how important that clause is and if you ask me to restore it I would gladly restore it. I have no time. You do not know how pressed some of us are for time. I had no time even to discuss the reason for putting down that clause to the original proposition. I said to myself when I drew up that clause if I discovered any reluctance on your part I would gladly destroy it. But I want to put my case before this house not because of my reputation as non-co-operator—because that is well able to take care of itself, because there is still action left behind it—but because I want the house to understand the implications of non-co-operation as also the implications of this very resolution.

Somebody has said that this resolution is a challenge and so it is. It is open to the British Government to interpret this as an insolent challenge if they wish. We need not be afraid of it. But if there is the slightest trace of change of heart about these in the governors then it is open to them also to understand the yearnings of the nation which is trying to rise, which is trying to throw off the yoke of thraldom. It would be better for them; it will be better also for the world because they represent a big nation. But we cannot help it if they will not put correct interpretation upon this resolution. But as I said if it is a challenge it is also a threat. I am not frightened of going even to the House of Commons. I am not even frightened of going to the Viceroy. But when could I go there? Only when it is honourable for me to do so quite consistently with the creed of non-co-operation. I non-co-operate with the evil, I do not non-co-operate with the good. I do not non-co-operate with persons, I non-co-operate with measures and when measures commend themselves to me I co-operate with them. If the Viceroy today asks me to go to him to discuss things of importance for the country on a footing of equality I will go there barefooted and still defend my non-co-operation. If the time comes—and time must come, it is possible for you to hasten that time—it will be possible for you to hasten that day you have put before you, if you only work out that programme and approach the resolution in the spirit in which it ought to be approached. It is possible for you to have summons to go to the House of Commons and then you will go as non-co-operators, not as co-operators. Then you will go as national delegates who are required to come to some reasonable terms in respect of what we are demanding. It won't be something degrading to us, it won't be something which is a right of the House of Commons to give and for you to take as beggars. It will be then a matter of "high contracting parties", as the term goes and as it is described, even as South Africa went.

I have been quoting to you things about South Africa, because not being a student of history which is written in dead pages but being a student of history which is now being written, I know more of South Africa than of any other country because I lived there. I tell you that General Botha and General Smuts who fought so gallantly and bravely extorted the admiration of King Edward who sent a message saying: "I do not want to fight any longer with these gallant people." It was then that these gallant generals went to England. But as what? They went as delegates and ambassadors of that nation to vindicate their honour, to gain

their liberty not on terms dictated by the House of Commons but on terms they had settled at a Convention just like this. Have we got the bravery of those generals?[1]

Have we got a General Botha in our midst who is prepared to sacrifice 20,000 acres of his valuable property and so many thousands of his sheep? You do not know perhaps that General Botha was one of the experts of the world in knowing a good sheep from a bad sheep. He was as free with these things as he was free with his life-blood. Have we got a General Botha? Have we got a General Smuts who is just as ready to tuck up his sleeves and work underground as to shoulder his rifle when the country demanded? I feel we have. If we had not I would not place this resolution before you. I would simply retire to Sabarmati.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya asked me: 'What is it that has brought you again out of your den? Is it again to coquet with the Swaraj Party because you were in love with Pandit Motilal Nehru? Is it still your lingering love for Motilal that has brought you?' These are not his exact words. This is the substance of what Dr. Pattabhi said. You will, therefore, take this with some degree of reservation. I told him I would give an explanation of it. It was no lingering love but the burning love for my dear comrade. When he said: 'You were instrumental in putting this crown of thorns upon my head, you will now have to come and see how many bruises that crown of thorns caused to my head and you will have to come and share some of those bruises,' I would be guilty of breach of friendship, I would be guilty of breach of duty to the nation, if after having pressed them to take their share at this critical juncture in the history of the country, I had not responded to his call and said: 'I shall come on the day you fix and I shall leave on the day you ask me.' (Applause) You now understand why I have come here and you now understand the importance I attach to this resolution, compromised though it is, weaker though it is, than the original resolution.

Then coming to this clause about the Viceroy; that is because it was a necessary sequel to that resolution as it is a necessary sequel to this resolution. This resolution is really without its crown, but we are today suffering from what is known in psychology as inferiority complex. We have King Charles' head dangling before our eyes every five minutes. You know the celebrated Mr. Dick who could not possibly think of anything

[1] What follows is from *Forward*, 29-12-1928.

without imagining the head of King Charles. This brand of inferiority is marked on our foreheads, on our breasts. It is always dangling before us and worrying us to death. That we see in everything and there is the apprehension lest we might weaken ourselves. Now we are strengthening ourselves. It was, as some papers put it, an ultimatum. But it was a performance of courtesy. I expected those who are the trustees of the honour of the British nation to understand the implications of this resolution, I want them to understand the yearnings of the nation, and therefore I perform this delicate task, the delicate courtesy, of transmitting this resolution to them to do what they like with it. I understand what all these proceedings mean.

I do not want to leave anything open to them to say 'we do not know anything about this resolution'.

Do not make any mistake about it, that this All-Parties Constitution is not a demand to be considered by the British nation, but do not go away with the idea that this is a document which is never to be considered by them. It is not a thing to be submitted to the Simon Commission, but this is a document to be considered by the British Government, by the Imperial Government, by the Viceroy and those who are today supposed to be ruling the destinies of India. It has been drafted for this purpose. I say it is also a Charter of Independence as we consider it today. Friends, I think I warned you against drawing any distinction between Dominion Status and Independence. I call it Independence. I had to say last night "for heaven's sake, do not depart from this document" nor can you contemplate a departure from this document. It is a sacred document. It is nothing more, nothing less. If it is a sacred document, you cannot possibly depart from it. Then you will have a special session of the Convention and the Congress to consider the desirability of removing even a comma if necessary. Having given that sacred character to that document it does not mean that it has got to be kept in a treasure chest. It is a document which must be circulated and above all to Viceregal ranks. Do not leave it open to them to say: 'You have not sent this for our consideration. Even if it was an ultimatum you should have sent it to us.'[1]

I did the same thing in regard to Bardoli. I wrote a letter addressed to the Viceroy but within 24 hours of that letter I had the painful duty of withdrawing it and reshaping it as I considered

[1] What follows is from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 29-12-1928.

this was necessary because of the further events[1]. If I was suffering from the fever of inferiority complex I could have given an interview to the Press representatives and expected the Viceroy to send me an answer. But I took the proper course. Similarly, I want to take a proper course in regard to this resolution for thereby you will not weaken but strengthen your case if you are going to do anything at all.

I again repeat that the Nehru Report has got to be considered by the British Parliament and by the Viceroy if it is to result in anything whatsoever. The authors of the Nehru Report knew it. You know it and I know it. It would be a sign of weakness, it would be undignified, not to recognize it. If the Viceroy is a worthy representative of his King and his nation, he will take note of this resolution even though it does not contain the clause which I should have liked to be inserted but from this platform I declare if he cares to read my remarks which I do convey to him that it will be proper for him to take this resolution to heart and to understand that at least some of us mean to vindicate every word of what is contained in it. ("Hear, hear.") If you cry "hear, hear" then I ask you to restore that clause for submission to the Viceroy. (Cries of "No, no") If you say "no" then I say you are suffering from inferiority complex. I have had some experience of it myself in South Africa where I was addressed as a cooly.[2]

I now address my remarks to the impatient young men who have insisted upon 1929 and also to those who want December, 1930. When I put down 1930, I counted the consequences. So many friends have been coming to me and asking me: "If we vote for this resolution and if we vote for this programme, will you repeat what you did in 1920[3], will you take virtual control of national affairs?" I said I have not got the strength today to fight single-handed. But I will if you come to terms with me and if you will bear the yoke. The yoke will be much tighter and much heavier than it was in 1920. It is a seasoned yoke and it has not worn out by usage. It becomes stronger and stronger by usage. If you give me the discipline that I shall exact, then certainly I will give you my work, so much of it as my frail body can give. Today I have come to perform a sacred duty to

[1] The tragedy of Chauri-Chaura on February 4, 1922; *vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 302-5.

[2] What follows is from *Forward*, 29-12-1928.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 249-55 and 270-3.

my country and after that my back is turned upon Calcutta and I retire to Sabarmati. I say to you that beyond putting this resolution before you, you may not expect anything unless these inexorable terms are granted to me by you, not unwillingly but of your own accord. It will be no use dragging me, no good asking me to take control unless you mean every word of what you say.

I thought two years was a shortening of time to organize our forces, in order to give battle if we must give battle to the Government. One year is nothing, one year will be required to create the discipline in our ranks. Our Congress roll today is nothing but a bogus affair. Let us face facts. It is worth nothing. If I went with inspectors to examine the Congress registers it would be a sad disappointment for me. We want a living register of the Congress. We want to be in a position to say even from day to day, so many more members are enrolled, so much more yarn given, so many more four-anna bits given and whatever it is, but I would expect the figure to come to our Central Office from week to week if not from day to day, showing enhanced subscription and increasing membership.

That will take one year and one year more will be required for giving ourselves confidence and courage, and for consolidation of communal unity. Communal unity is not yet in sight. Much has got to be done. The whole of last night was spent in trying to bring about communal unity. We want some time for the atmosphere to clear. I hold therefore that two years is all too short a time. But I said to myself: 'What does it matter if all these impatient young men want me to share the discredit of showing nothing at the end of one year? I will share it.' I have given the warning that if they do not give a good account of themselves in terms of this resolution and no other, they will earn discredit and I shall gladly share it with them as a comrade and a party to this document. But I give them a warning from this public platform. Let them give themselves night in, night out and day in and day out to work out the constructive part of the programme in terms of the resolution in order to hasten the march towards our goal.

I now come to the Madras Congress approval. It would have needed no commentary on my part but for a discussion we had in the tent. I simply want to clarify the issues. Independence we may reiterate from a million platforms in the name of the Congress, but we must not treat the report of the All-Parties Committee as something separate from Independence. By approving

it, you are not weakening your struggle for Independence. You are using that document as a stage and as a big stage in your progress towards Independence and as you harangue upon Independence from your platforms, it will be your duty, if you are true to this resolution of approval to your constitution, to say, 'We want you to treat this Nehru Report in terms of our goal and consolidate the Nehru Report in the struggle for Independence.' Do not consider the Nehru Report as an excrescence to be deplored but regard it as an integral part of the struggle. I tell you that this resolution commits you to that attitude of mind. Unless you do that, the Nehru Report really will be a halter round your necks, and it will be always like King Charles' head coming before you and you will always seek to hide it behind you. And if somebody says, 'what about the Nehru Report?' you will omit all mention of it or pretend you did not hear him or had forgotten all about it. If that is your attitude towards the Nehru Report, then do not approve it because approval means that you like it, you appreciate their labour, you feel that they have discharged the national trust and they have discharged the trust on behalf of those who want independence and nothing else. They have worked on behalf of them as much as they have worked on behalf of those who are still frightened of Independence, who cannot stand the glare of Independence and they have worked for both parties, they have accommodated both parties, but the Independent-wallah has nothing to be ashamed of in this Report but everything to be proud of. You can make what you like out of that Report and I think you can make much more out of that Report than the man who cannot stand the dazzle and glare of Independence.

You call it special pleading. I have never been guilty of that art. Every word that I say comes out of the deepest recesses of my heart. The heart is responding although the brain is reeling. I ask you to bear in mind what you are doing when you accept the resolution. Do not say that it is a waste paper or a consolation prize to Motilal Nehru lest he be offended with the magnificent ride he had on a chariot drawn by 34 more or less white horses. After that triumphant ride he stands in no need of a consolation prize. Much less do I need a consolation prize.

I want drops of your life-blood to mingle with mine, the drops of Hindu blood to mingle with Muslim blood and Sikh blood, Parsi blood and Christian blood so that a magnificent memorial may rise in Calcutta, if you like, to show what this nation has done in order to earn its liberty, in order to buy its liberty, not

with gold but with blood. That is what I want you to read into this resolution. The resolution calls you to that duty and nothing else. Then there is very little left for me to say.

But I had better explain to you the exigencies of the political situation. Of course it sticks in the throat. It is again an interpolation from that old dame "Inferiority Complex", but sometimes we will have to treat old dames as young maidens. Supposing that a Viceroy or a Secretary of State for India loses his head and says: "What are these insolent men doing, firing these insults against the nation and demanding Dominion Status even at the point of the bayonet?" We have no bayonets. But the points of our pens sometimes feel like bayonets. But how can we avoid it? If yearnings of our hearts, if the miseries or signs of the burning of our hearts, are misread, we cannot help it. But they choose to do so, imprison some of us, or do something worse. Suppose after this resolution and after all we are doing here, we have a demonstration against the Simon Commission whenever it comes officially to Calcutta — the last time I understand it did not come officially and therefore you restrained yourselves and showed how you were capable of behaving yourselves—but when it makes its official entry and you welcome it with black flags, supposing then that some Superintendent of Police in the discharge of his duty as he considers it, uses his rifle, what are we to do? Are we still to say "Yes, we shall accept Dominion Status"? We can say that if we do not want to treat it as an exigency of the political situation and if we do not feel strong enough, we can swallow that injury, and weak we certainly are, and yet we can say: "Yes, we shall accept Dominion Status." But we may get together sufficient courage and have a manifestation of such courage within us that will enable us to say "No more Dominion Status, no more parleying. Now Complete Independence". That is a political exigency that we have provided for.

If the Commission reads these signs aright, it will see the country stands by the Nehru Report. Of course there is no such hope from the Commission to read the signs aright. And I am not such a simpleton to believe it but I am also an irrepressible optimist. If some sudden influx of energy comes to us, the Hindus, and if Mohammedans and Sikhs say after having listened to this mad man and known the fire that was burning in his breast: "Let us shed our mutual distrust and say we don't want communalism at all", we shall trust our Muslim and Sikh friends and if as a result of the trust some of us have to die or to be deprived of our franchise and rights, it does not matter, that will be a step

in our march towards our goal; if that kind of courage and conviction comes to you all of a sudden, then I promise that Sir John Simon will say: "That is *my* Report, I understand the situation in India as no other representative of the British Nation does understand." Today we have not got that atmosphere, we have not got that trust, we have not got that self-confidence, hence you hedge yourselves round with all the badges of inferiority complex. But the key lies in the resolution which I have placed before you. (Applause)

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 29-12-1928 and *Forward*, 29-12-1928

354. WHAT IS IN A NAME?

December 29, 1928

At the time of writing this (forenoon, 29th December) it is too early to give my impressions of the Congress. The events are moving and changing so fast that the impressions of the morning are nullified by those of the evening. Meanwhile, therefore, it may be well to understand the controversy raging round Dominion Status and Independence. The more I hear the arguments of those who have forced the issue, the more clearly do I see the harm that is being done by it. Up to a certain point it was perhaps health-giving and necessary. It was certainly good to appreciate the fact that nothing short of independence could possibly be the goal of the nation and that therefore every advance should be interpreted in terms of independence. It follows therefore that every political change or reform that may impede the nation's march towards independence should be rejected.

But what is the meaning of this independence? For me its meaning is swaraj. Independence is a word employed for European consumption. And those whose eyes are turned outward, whether it be towards West or East, North or South are thinking of anything but India's independence. For finding India's independence we must look to India and her sons and daughters, her needs, and capacity. It is obvious that the contents of her independence must therefore vary with her varying needs and increasing capacity. India's independence therefore need not have the meaning current in the West. Italian independence is different from that of England, Sweden's differs from both.

One thing that we need is undoubtedly freedom from British *control in any shape or form.* But freedom from such control of any

other power is equally our need in terms of independence. The Nehru Report points the way to such freedom and it prescribes the remedy that India can assimilate today. It is a worthless document if it means anything less. Its acceptance is wholly compatible with the national goal and I venture to think that the fiercest champion of national independence can and should safely work for its full fruition. The Report is not an end in itself. It simply gives us the formula according to which we should work. It presumes concentrated ceaseless work by all the different parties before it can bear fruit.

Great confusion has been created by tearing the much abused expression 'Dominion Status' from its context. It is not an elixir of life to be imported from Westminster to put life into us. The expression has been used by the distinguished authors of the Report to show by analogy what in their opinion is needed for India's political growth. The scheme of government adumbrated in the Report, whether it is known by the expression Dominion Status or any other, whilst it may fully answer our needs today, may easily fall short of them tomorrow. But it contains its own corrective. For it is a scheme to be worked out by the nation, not one to be imposed upon or thrown at her by Britain. If it fructifies, it *contains all we need* for future growth; hence I call it the Charter of our Independence.

After all, if the Nehru Report is consigned to oblivion, we shall still need a charter. It may be known as the charter of India's independence and may still conceivably be much less than the Dominion Status of the Nehru Report.

If what we want therefore cannot be sufficiently described by the swadeshi word swaraj, it cannot be described by any other word that can be coined. All that the man in the street should know is that he wants the scheme of government framed by the nation's representatives without the change of a comma and then he can say with the greatest confidence: 'What is in a name?'

That the Nehru scheme requires endorsement by the British Parliament is no defect in it. Since we are connected with Britain, we shall in every case need some sort of endorsement from her Parliament whether the scheme is to be transmutation of the present bondage into an absolutely equal partnership to be destroyed at will or whether it is to end every sort of connection with Britain. I shall always maintain that the transmutation, complete conversion, is any day a higher status than destruction. But of this later. Enough for us to learn by heart for the moment that any scheme to take us towards swaraj or if you will, independence,

must be framed by us and must be accepted without a single alteration dictated by the British Parliament.

Young India, 3-1-1929

355. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Saturday, December 29, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have a few moments to myself today and I give them to this letter. Despite pressure of work and late hours, I have kept good health.

Tell Gangabehn that she should take complete rest and not be in a hurry to resume work. Tell Shankerbhai[1] that he should never spend as much as one hour in the lavatory. In any case he should never strain. He should make changes in his diet and improve his health, or go out to some other place and do so. It will be quite proper for Kamala[2] to make the kind of chapatis her father requires, but it is not proper to cook his meals separately. We have to learn to run a joint kitchen and overcome all the difficulties which arise. We have taken a vow to continue this experiment for at least a year. I believe, therefore, that we can make no changes.

I expect to leave this place on the 2nd or the 3rd. I hope to reach there before the 11th in any case. Mirabehn is coming here tomorrow and from here she will go to Bihar.

About other things, in the next letter or when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 37

[1] An inmate of the Ashram, looking after accounts
[2] Daughter of Shankerbhai

356. *SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, CALCUTTA CONGRESS*[1]

December 29, 1928

The President [Pandit Motilal Nehru] then requested Mahatmaji to move his second resolution which runs as follows:[2]

Mahatmaji said that he had no desire of detaining the house for many minutes in explaining the resolution. It was plain enough. After what he had listened to for the last half an hour he would only say that the resolution could be worked out only by true Congressmen. It was only by them that the revival and organization of non-co-operation was possible. If they wanted the Nehru Report to fructify, the least that they could do was to work out the resolution with the greatest concentration and with equal integrity during the coming months.[3]

Mahatma Gandhi said that he thought that he could take over one or two things from the amendments but when he ran his eye over the amendments suggested, he found nothing which needed to be taken over in the original resolution. The National Volunteers Corps was already in the country. He had proposed an effective use of the National Volunteers. As regards the suggestion about the peasantry and workers, he had been engaged in organizing the peasantry and workers and he did not think there was any person in that assembly there who could claim greater knowledge of the organization of the peasantry than himself. Knowing the matter as well as he did he was not inclined to take over this clause also because the clause in its most effective part was already in the resolution. There was one thing which he would like to clear up and that was with reference to the five per cent. He had never anticipated that the five per cent contribution was to last for ever. What he had anticipated was that this programme would be adhered to for one year and it would prove to be an effective test as to what the nation was capable of doing. If the nation could honestly work out, then the fear that Mrs. Besant had as to non-violent non-co-operation, non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience would be totally dispelled. The probability was that there would be no occasion for any such drastic step or direct action. She will discover that

[1] At the Subjects Committee meeting

[2] For the text of the resolution, *vide* pp. 268-9, and for the final amended version, *vide* pp. 313-4.

[3] After this Dr. Thambe moved an amendment that the term "swadeshi" be substituted for "hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar". The amendment was, however, lost.

there is no such atmosphere in the country and that there is no untowardness from non-payment of taxes or other forms of civil disobedience. She had no fear of civil disobedience or suspension of taxes in Bardoli, and she thought that the people of Bardoli were justified because she said that the people had a felt grievance and there they could act as one man. But here they did not have a felt grievance or a longing or yearning for swaraj. If they had, they would not find the gross irregularities which had been brought to notice. He was very glad that these irregularities had been reported and hoped the matter would be properly investigated and the complaint effectively dealt with. With regard to the percentage he said it was intended as an acid test of the sincerity of the Congressmen. If they were really sincere about this programme and about getting the Nehru scheme accepted by the British Parliament or on failure of acceptance they were going to work out independence for themselves, and independence could not be gained simply by shouting from the house-tops, then they would not hesitate over this five per cent. He had deliberately excluded anything below Rs. 100, because he knew what difficulties some families had and he had also provided for excluding even this five per cent for the same reason, and left these matters to be dealt with by the Working Committee. If Congressmen were prepared to honestly work this programme, this test would show it. But if a proper atmosphere was not created then this would not be forthcoming except from solitary promises. He knew there was the danger of Congressmen leaving in force, of honest Congressmen who would fear that the money would be wasted and not properly applied. He considered all these dangers but unless they incorporated this provision for the purpose of making the Congress effective they would not make much headway. In spite of all these dangers he would take courage in both his hands and say no, as they all knew that he was an irrepressible optimist. He pressed the Resolution for their acceptance. If they liked they might remove that clause.

All the amendments were put to vote and lost and Mahatma Gandhi's resolution put *en bloc* and carried.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-12-1928

357. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

CALCUTTA,
Sunday, December 30, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

Every day I want to write to you, but how could I possibly do so? You did not write to me about [your] weight. By all means go to Bombay and learn everything. When you go to work in the Udyoga Mandir this time, you must preserve your peace of mind absolutely.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, WARDHA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 501. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

358. LETTER TO M. T. WALAWALKER

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will have received the acknowledgment of the money order for Lalaji memorial.

As to the solutions you have offered about the monkeys, whilst they are interesting, you will notice that they are not non-violent. What I want to avoid is the slow torture of the monkeys.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. MAHADEV TUKARAM WALAWALKER
VENGURLA, KHADI KARYALAYA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13824

359. LETTER TO SAYYID ABDUL LATIF

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I have received the magazine. I have glanced through its interesting contents. But I am sorry to say that I have not a moment to spare to give you the kind of article that you want and I should like to give. I am however not sorry for the want of time for the simple reason that unity is not to be reached by any amount of writing but it will be reached by a silent transformation of our hearts which would only come when we are truly desirous of achieving unity.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. SAYYID ABDUL LATIF
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13825

360. LETTER TO TARA SHANKER

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Personally I do think that you should remain firm and cut off all contact even if there is the slightest danger of her dying. In seeking to do the right often we have to risk the death of dearest ones. I am quite clear in my mind that all contact must cease.

I return the Hindi letter.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. TARA SHANKER
50 BUTLER HOSTEL
BADSHAHBAGH, LUCKNOW

From a microfilm: S.N. 13826

361. LETTER TO SACHINDRA NATH MAITI

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I would suggest your studying the constitution of the Ashram published in the pages of *Young India* and I would further ask you to live in accordance with its vows at least for one year and then write to me what progress you have made. It will be then time enough to take stock and consider whether you should join the Ashram or not.

Yours sincerely,

SACHINDRA NATH MAITI, ESQ.
MIDNAPORE, BENGAL

From a photostat: S.N. 13827

362. LETTER TO RAJA OF KANIKA

CALCUTTA,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[2]. I note the contents. The letter shall be treated as strictly private.

Yours sincerely,

RAJASAHEB OF KANIKA
19-A BALLYGUNGE, CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13828

[1] The correspondent, a young man of 23, was returning from England and wished to join the Ashram.

[2] In reply to Gandhiji's letter of 27th instant; *vide* p. 280.

363. LETTER TO LADY R. L. RAMANATHAN

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
December 30, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your touching letter. It revived all the memories of my visit to your college[1]. It gave me joy to note that you are not forgetting *Daridranarayana*[2]. The handsome collection made by you should be sent to Sabarmati which I reach about the 6th of January.

Yours sincerely,

LADY RAMANATHAN
RAMANATHAN COLLEGE
CHUNNAKAM (CEYLON)

From a photostat: S.N. 13823

364. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

December 30, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I get your letters regularly. Prabhavati will have returned by the time you get this.

It has reassured me on your account to know that you have been serving everyone. Tell Sarojini Devi that I did not write to her because I had nothing particular to say. And now we shall be meeting in four or five days. I intend to reach there on the 6th. Letters are now being taken away to be posted, and so I shall not write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1774

[1] On November 29, 1927. On the anniversary of that event the college collected Rs. 1,200 to be sent to Gandhiji.

[2] God in the form of the poor

365. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

December 30, 1928

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I see that I shall not be able to start from here before the 3rd.

After I return there, you must give yourself some rest from office work.

The problem here has become very complicated this time. I simply cannot say what the outcome will be.

It is a question how long the Mandir should go on supervising khadi work done outside. Lakshmidas's view certainly deserves consideration. We bear Prabhudas's expenses as incidental to his living where he does. About Shantilal[1], I have been thinking. I had a talk with Chhaganlal.

I for one feel that if the parents of any inmates of the Mandir come there and cannot take their meals in the joint kitchen, we cannot make separate arrangements for them. Our decision on this point will depend on our intention as to the direction in which we wish to develop the Mandir. If we wish to develop it into an Ashram, we ought to weaken our personal ties. If we wish to develop in the opposite direction and take interest in worldly life, the number of separate kitchens is bound to increase. If I want *shiro*[2] for myself, I must get it cooked in the Mandir's kitchen. If my relations come, the only kitchen I have is the Mandir's kitchen. Our uncles should know that our family has grown in the Mandir. I for one feel that we cannot add to the two exceptions[3] which we have made. Those who cannot fit into this scheme may leave, and we should reconcile ourselves to their doing so.

I, too, had a letter from Devasharmaji[4] about Balbir. Send him away at the first opportunity.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 38-9

[1] Shantilal Joshi, helpmate of Prabhudas
[2] A sweet made from wheat flour
[3] Narandas Gandhi and Valji Desai
[4] A teacher at Gurukul Kangri

366. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

CALCUTTA,
Silence Day, December 31, 1928

DEAR SISTERS,

I expect this to be my last letter to you. According to present indications I should be there on Sunday morning.

Today I have only enough time to warn you that on coming there I shall ask all of you to render an account of your activities. Where is the need now to write anything new? If you have settled down, if you have been able to bring quiet in the kitchen, and if you are regular in attending prayers, I should think that you have done a great deal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3687

367. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [December 31, 1928][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I need not write much today. I expect to start from here on Thursday and reach Ahmedabad on Sunday by the train which arrives there at six in the morning. In an hour's time, I have to reach the Congress session. How happy would I be if, when I arrive there, I see everyone carefully attending to all the things I have been writing about!

Vallabhbhai and Mahadev are leaving for Bardoli this very day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 39

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's intention to leave Calcutta for Ahmedabad which he did on January 3. The silence day immediately preceding was December 31.

363. SPEECH ON RESOLUTION ON NEHRU REPORT, CALCUTTA CONGRESS—III[1]

December 31, 1928

At Monday's sitting of the Congress, Mahātma Gandhi moved the following compromise resolution[2]:

Mahatma Gandhi in moving the resolution delivered a short speech in Hindi. As the loudspeakers failed to work, his speech could not be heard and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru repeated his speech sentence by sentence.

Mahatmaji in the course of his speech said that after due consideration and carefully judging the whole situation he was going to move the resolution before the house. The younger group in the house were eager for Complete Independence.[3]

If you all wish India to become free you should stop all this controversy about Dominion Status and Independence. You should remember swaraj is what we have outlined here [in this Report]. I have come all the way from Sabarmati Ashram to support the Nehru Committee's recommendation. And that also because the Report is the tangible fruit of the directive given by the Madras Congress. Today we may accept this as swaraj in a way. I don't know what shape it will take tomorrow. We must always insist on truth. If people give up truth and self-respect or break promises and disregard tradition, they cannot secure freedom for they don't deserve it.

You must honour the compromise I have worked out in the Subjects Committee. If you think I am lowering the ideal of Congress, you may repudiate me and not listen to me. I do not want you to accept the resolution, simply because I have moved it. You must accept it only if you are prepared to work the specified programme. If you reject this then you will have to find yourself another President, as your present President is the moving spirit behind this resolution. I do not believe in resorting to dirty manoeuvring to obtain a majority vote. It will only delay swaraj. If you want swaraj you must cleanse your mind of all such ideas by voting for this resolution.[4]

Replying to the debate, Mahatma Gandhi said that his remarks were principally addressed to young Bengal and if they considered for one moment

[1] The speech was delivered at the open session.

[2] Not reproduced here. *Vide* pp. 283-96.

[3] What follows is from *Aaj*.

[4] What follows is from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

that a mere Gujarati could not understand young Bengal, then young Bengal would commit a most serious blunder.[1]

I will ask you not to interrupt me when I am endeavouring to address a few words to you, as a fellow-worker of yours. If however you want to interrupt me, I shall certainly retire and not address you. If on the other hand you want to listen to me, then listen to me in perfect silence. I want to make it absolutely clear that if you are wise, you will dismiss from your mind the bogey of Independence *v.* Dominion Status. There is no opposition between Dominion Status and Independence. I do not want a Dominion Status that will interfere with my fullest growth, with my independence. These words, I suggest, are misleading. I would therefore suggest a better method. That is independence whereby we can grow to our fullest height. We are the architects of our own destiny and I suggest that the architects of the Nehru Report are your own countrymen appointed by you. There is no hand on the part of the Government in the framing of this document. This document owes its origin to the Madras Congress and it is through the Madras Congress that this Committee was appointed and it is this Report by which I ask you to stand for the time being. The question has been agitating my mind since yesterday afternoon when I heard that there was going to be seriously put forward an amendment to this resolution on behalf of those who, I thought, were a party to the resolution that I moved.

The resolution that I have submitted to this house is the direct result of a compromise. The resolution that I originally framed, you have not seen. And even the one that was printed and moved in the Subjects Committee was also in a way the result of informal compromise or some kind of understanding, whatever language you might wish to use. That resolution was not framed by me only; there were many heads behind that. There was an attempt to placate as many parties as it was possible to placate. That resolution was discussed by various men, men who were supposed to represent different parties. I do not want to suggest that you are bound by that resolution but I do want to say that those who were supposed to be behind that resolution were honour-bound to support it.

If anybody runs away with the idea that I am here appealing to sentiment, he is in the wrong. You can appeal to one's sense of honour and I am proud of having made my appeal to

[1] Two or three voices cried "No, no".

that sense of honour. I suggest that if those who were behind this compromise subsequently discovered that they have committed a blunder and that they must clear their position before the world and say that they are penitent for what they had done previously, I suggest that penitence is made of sterner stuff. It is not made by amendments. There are other drastic steps to be taken. If those who were behind the compromise consider that they have committed no such blunder but have committed only tactical blunder or a blunder that involves displeasure of some party, then I suggest that it is their bounden duty to swallow that blunder and abide by that compromise. If you have not got that sense of honour and if, giving a word of honour you are not sure that it should be kept at any cost, then I say that you will not be able to make this nation free.

You may take the name of Independence on your lips just as the Muslims utter the name of Allah or a pious Hindu utters the name of Krishna or Rama, but all that muttering will be an utterly empty formula if there is no honour behind it. If you are not prepared to stand by your own words, where will Independence be? Independence is after all a thing made of sterner stuff. It is not made by wriggling of words. I suggest that if you want to vindicate the honour of this nation, because the Viceroy insults us or president of a European Chamber of Commerce insults us, we say, we want our independence because we want to vindicate our honour, then you are dragging independence into the mire. Do not imagine for a moment that I am trying to snatch a vote from you. Believe me there is no such thing at the back of my mind.

I would fain suffer defeat at the hands of young men, but I am jealous of their honour. If you, young men, who are behind this amendment[1], understand the significance of the message I am delivering to you, you may say for the present that you have committed a blunder but that you want to abide by that compromise because our leaders have entered into compromise. If you think it is not a matter of honour, if you think that the independence of the country will be lost if you accept my resolution, I invite you to throw out my resolution by an overwhelming majority. But if you accept my resolution by an overwhelming majority or even by any majority whatsoever, then those who vote for this resolution should understand that it would be a matter of honour for them to work for it because they pledge themselves for it.

[1] By Subhas Chandra Bose, repudiating Dominion Status and declaring Complete Independence as the goal of the Indian people

But why are you so oppressed? Why are you labouring under that inferiority complex that within a year we shall not be able to convince the British Parliament, that we shall not be able to marshal our forces and summon to ourselves the strength that we need? Swaraj is my birthright just as breathing through the lungs is my birthright. It must be as natural to you as your breath. Why are you so afraid?

I have got full faith. If you will help me and follow the programme honestly and intelligently, I promise that swaraj will come within one year. I want you to die a proper death. I want you to develop full courage and die with calculated courage. If you have got that courage, if you can stand with your breast bare before the bullet, then I promise, you will get all that you possibly desire. Do not be frightened by the shadow. Do not be afraid of the long-drawn-out agony. I admit that it is a long-drawn-out process, but under the present state of the country when we cannot trust our brothers and sisters, our parents, and party leaders, when we cannot trust anybody, when we have no sense of honour, when we cannot allow our words to remain unaltered for 24 hours, do not talk of independence. But if you will develop that calm courage and honesty of purpose and that determination which will refuse to accept 'no' for an answer to your demand, then I promise what the tallest among us can possibly desire.

Throughout these days we have heard a great deal that we are not able to carry on the Congress election campaign in an honest manner. It cut me to the quick when I heard that delegates' tickets passed hands and were sold like bills of exchange and the rates increased as the days went on and a rupee ticket sold for Rs. 15. It is discreditable to the Congress and I tell you that you are not going to get Independence by these methods. On the other hand you are forging your own shackles, from which there will be no escape because it is of your own will.

May God direct you in coming to a decision.

I do not want you to decide the question, because I am the mover of the resolution or because Pandit Motilal is at the back of the resolution. It is you who must decide with your calm reasoning but showing honour with it.[1] (Loud applause)

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 1-1-1929 and *Aaj*, 2-1-1929

[1] At this stage amendments were put to vote and they were all lost. Gandhiji's resolution was then separately put to vote and adopted.

369. *SPEECH ON CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, CALCUTTA CONGRESS*

January 1, 1929

Mahatmaji first spoke in Hindi explaining the resolution. Speaking in English he said:

I do not want to detain you for long over the resolution which is an integral part of the first resolution[1] which you were good enough to endorse yesterday. It was only for the sake of convenience that the Subjects Committee insisted upon dividing this one resolution into two parts; one in connection with the Nehru Committee Report and the second in connection with the programme of work based upon that Report. Hence it is that the second part of the first resolution I am now putting before you today. But it was after all a happy thing for "all's well that ends well", and that arrangement enables me to give you the welcome information that a complete agreement without any mental reservation has been accomplished. I don't propose to read that resolution to you, because you have had that resolution before you and I am trying to economize my voice, energy and time as much as possible. Therefore, let us consider it an arrangement between yourselves and me that I do not read this resolution.

There are two amendments to the resolution and of these amendments Mr. Satyamurthi has chosen the second one. But now as I have agreed to his suggestions, he has authorized me to withdraw his alternative amendment and the suggestions I have accepted are these. You will notice in his alternative resolution that he refers to the organization of the peasantry and workers. So far as the peasantry is concerned you will find in my resolution there is a reference where the volunteers are called upon to enlist themselves in order to do village reconstruction work, and this village reconstruction work is nothing but the organization of the peasantry and workers upon an economic basis. We want to enter into the hearts of the peasants. We want to identify ourselves completely with the masses. We want to make their woes our own. We want to feel with them in everything in order to better the lot of those on whose toil we the people of the city are really living. We must therefore make common cause with the

[1] *Vide* pp. 267-73.

workers. I do not want it for one moment to be understood that the city workers and labourers are to be neglected; I cannot possibly mean that because I am myself organizing labour, and I have been identifying myself with labour for the last 30 or 35 years of my life. So I have no hesitation in accepting that part. The second suggestion that I have adopted is in connection with the tax; I suggested in my resolution five per cent, on incomes exceeding Rs. 100. Personally, I would like that clause, but many of my friends and many Congressmen have suggested that it would work as a hardship upon people. People cannot really pay so much, they cannot really pay. If they cannot pay, there is a remedy in that clause itself. The suggestion was that they are not yet in the habit of conforming to that exact discipline whereby men or women would automatically recognize it as a compulsory obligation to pay. I have appreciated the force of that argument and therefore I have accepted the suggestion so that that clause will now be remodelled. I am not telling you how it is to be remodelled, because I have not really the text of that clause before me and you do not want me to worry you about it just now. But it will enable you to carry out the meaning of what I am telling you just now. That clause will be so worded as to carry out the formula that was suggested for another thing by Deshbandhu Das that the Congress expects every Congressman to contribute to the Congress coffers month by month in accordance with his ability, in order to advance the cause of the Congress, more especially in order to embark upon a programme that is set forth in the foregoing resolution. That will be the wording instead of the wording in the last clause of the printed paper. I do not want to take up your time any longer but I cannot help giving you a warning note. I want you to take this resolution seriously and I want you to adhere with all seriousness to this resolution. I do not want you to raise your hands as accepting this resolution and then sleep over it for a solid twelve months and expect the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee or the President to work wonders for you. Neither the President nor the A.I.C.C. have a magic wand. There is no magic wand except your own iron determination and will and that is the magic wand that will alone bring swaraj within your grasp and give the country peace and happiness. Therefore, I would beseech you not to accept the resolution with the two suggestions adopted unless everyone here in his own person means seriously to carry out all the items of the programme which are applicable to them and unless you are determined to take the message of the Congress

from door to door ceaselessly for these twelve months. At the end of this period I hope to see an atmosphere totally different from the atmosphere of distrust and despondency that I can read in the faces of every one of us today.

With these words I leave this resolution in your hands and I thank you for giving me this very patient hearing.[1] (Loud and continued applause)

The resolution ran as follows:

Meanwhile the Congress shall engage in the following activities:

(1) In the Legislatures and outside every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organized wherever desirable and possible.

(2) Inside and outside the legislatures, methods suited to respective environment shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

(3) Specific grievances, wherever discovered and where people are ready, shall be sought to be redressed by non-violent action as was done recently at Bardoli.

(4) Members of Legislatures returned on the Congress ticket shall devote the bulk of their time to the constructive work settled from time to time by the Congress Committee.

(5) The Congress organization shall be perfected by enlisting members and enforcing stricter discipline.

(6) Measures shall be taken to remove the disabilities of women and they will be invited and encouraged to take their due share in national upbuilding.

(7) Measures shall be taken to rid the country of social abuses.

(8) It will be the duty of all Congressmen, being Hindus, to do all they can to remove untouchability and help the so-called untouchables in every possible way in their attempt to remove their disabilities and better their condition.

(9) Volunteers shall be enlisted to take up the work among the city labourers and village reconstruction in ad-

[1] The resolution was seconded by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru read out the resolution as corrected by Mahatmaji in consultation with Mr. Satyamurthi and he then explained it in Hindi, after which it was put to vote and carried with only two dissentients.

dition to what is being done through the spinning-wheel and khaddar.

(10) Such other work as may be deemed advisable in order to advance nation-building in all its departments and in order to enable the Congress to secure the co-operation in the national effort of the people engaged in different pursuits.

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme, the Congress expects every Congressman to contribute to the Congress coffers a certain percentage of his or her income according to his or her ability.

Report of the Forty-third Session of the Indian National Congress, 1928

370. SPEECH AT ALL-PARTIES CONVENTION, CALCUTTA[1]

January 1, 1929

Mahatmaji then moved:

> This Convention is of opinion that the resolutions it has already passed on the recommendations of the All-Parties Committee contained in clauses one to six of their Report sufficiently indicate the will of the nation as to the nature and main principles of the constitution acceptable to it and is further of opinion that except on points on which notes of dissent have been recorded at the instance of some of the parties present there is a general agreement on the basis of the solution of communal problem recommended by the said Committee.
>
> This Convention adjourns *sine die* authorizing the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to convene it when necessary for more detailed examination of the recommendations of the Committee.

In doing so Mahatmaji offered an apology for his presence in the Convention but he came as a legal adviser to the President who had met him and Pandit Motilal and requested them to be present in the Convention and help him with advice. To facilitate work he was going to move the present resolution and hoped there should not be much discussion and no amendment. Continuing, Mahatmaji said:

[1] Dr. Ansari presided. Among those present were Dr. Moonje, Dr. Besânt, Messrs Satyamurthi, Bhagwandas, Vijayaraghavachariar, Bipin Pal, B. Das, Satyen Mitter, Devratan Sarma, S. A. Brelvi, Nilkanta Das, Manilal Kothari, Hirendranath Dutt, Lalit Das and Shyam Sunder Chakravarti.

Whilst we have very nearly exhausted the Nehru Report and accepted it without much alteration, yet much still remains to be done. The situation in the country is such that we shall have to keep both the Nehru Report and the Convention alive.

As regards the Mohammedan question, he said the Convention had not been able to placate all parties. The Sikhs also required to be placated. Continuing, Mahatmaji said:

Personally I think we have not done full justice to the Sikhs. Hence it is necessary for all of you to put your heads together and make suggestions and evolve order out of chaos. There is the Utkal question which still requires to be solved and is giving trouble. This question is a nightmare. It crops up in all my speeches. The exhibition given by Utkal delegates the other day was like an animal undergoing vivisection.

The Nehru Report can only be touched here and there and not in its entirety. Only in matters of detail can we make alterations. If anything is wanted to satisfy the Muslims then also we have to touch it but if the Muslims spring some surprise it is not for the Nehru Committee to do so. That is the business of some other organization.

Mahatmaji concluded with the hope that the resolution be carried without any amendment.[1]

Mahatmaji announced that as a result of discussion he had come to some compromise and agreed to make some verbal alterations in the latter part of the resolution.[2]

This Convention adjourns *sine die* to meet when necessary for completing its work.

Forward, 2-1-1929

371. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS[3]

CALCUTTA,
January 2, 1929

The Mahatma had just returned from his morning walk and was surrounded by a score of his followers while we talked. He remarked with a smile in explanation of our audience:

I have no secrets from my friends.

[1] Dr. Annie Besant then moved an amendment.

[2] The first paragraph of the Resolution is not reproduced here.

[3] The interview also appeared in *The Daily Telegraph*, 3-1-1929, as from its special correspondent.

[QUESTION:] What exactly does the Congress stand for—Dominion Status or Independence?

Mr. Gandhi thought for a moment, and then, peering at me keenly through his glasses, replied:

I can realize the Britisher's difficulty in understanding our point of view, but I am glad that he is trying to. My position is very clear. To me Dominion Status means Independence. Others have been led, through suspicion of Britain's good faith, and partly also, I am afraid, for their own party purposes, to make a distinction between the two. But it has been largely a battle of words. There is no real room for misunderstanding as to what I personally—and the Congress — stand for. We want Home Rule — a Freedom Constitution built up by ourselves — something not imposed from without. The Nehru Constitution is of our own making. If that is accepted it means that we become partners at will and makers of our own destiny.

In that case why did you make what the British people cannot but consider a surrender on your part to those to whom Independence is not the same thing as Dominion Status and frankly implies severance of the British connection?

Mr. Gandhi pondered the question carefully before he replied.

I have in a sense made a surrender to those who are considered "the extremists", but it has been a surrender on points which do not seem to me to affect the real position. There has been no surrender of the principle for which I have always stood and always will stand. Severance on any account is not my goal. Power for severance when desired is.

You have, nevertheless, added to your demand for Home Rule on the basis of the Nehru Report a time-limit which you must know to be an impossible one. You have, in effect, presented a pistol at the head of the British Parliament. You declare that unless the Nehru Report is adopted by the 31st of December this year something dreadful is going to happen.

Mr. Gandhi shook his head and said quietly:

You are wrong. We are not in a position to point a pistol at the head of the British Parliament — and I cannot agree with you that the time-limit we have laid down is an impossible one. If Britain today were threatened with another war she would face the situation and deal with it at once. But the Indian situation is not considered serious enough to warrant immediate handling. That is where Britain has been making a very big mistake. She does not consider the Indian situation sufficiently important. It is a minor affair in the business of the Empire, a minor affair that can be put off and off, to be attended to some day when there is

nothing else to worry about. That is what we resent, and that is what is aggravating this tragic suspicion that is poisoning the whole atmosphere of our political life. Let the leaders of the British people make some definite, serious and sincere move to meet us within the year and then ultimatums and time-limits need not matter.

If the British Parliament has not conceded the Nehru Constitution by the 31st of December what is going to happen?

Mr. Gandhi smiled [and said:]

I am an incorrigible optimist. Up to midnight on the 31st of December 1929, I shall be hoping and hoping — and praying —that the definite move we ask for will be made by Britain.

Q. And if your hopes are not realized?

The Mahatma thought a moment before he answered.

In that case on New Year's Day 1930 I shall wake up to find myself an Independencewallah.

But he has hope and faith that things will so shape themselves that his will not be the responsibility for ringing up the curtain upon another Indian tragedy. Summing up, he said:

Get rid of the suspicion of Britain's good faith that is poisoning the political atmosphere of India and the way will be clear for an understanding between the leaders of the British people and the leaders of my own people that will solve all our difficulties.

The Englishman, 3-1-1929

372. SPEECH AT CHITTARANJAN SEVA SADAN, CALCUTTA

January 2, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi in declaring the new block formally open said that two years ago when the people of Bengal invited him to lay the foundation-stone of the new block, he gladly accepted the invitation and this time they also had extended their invitation to him to open the new block of the Seva Sadan which was built on the foundation which he had laid. From that he realized the real love and respect which they had shown to him and he was really fortunate to attend the function. When he comes to this building he recalls in his mind the sacred memory of Deshbandhu Das, the great leader of Bengal who had dedicated his life for the cause of his country. Whenever he comes to Bengal, he feels the absence of Deshbandhu and thinks within himself: 'What was Deshbandhu's Bengal and what is today's Bengal'! The enthusiasm which he had seen during his lifetime was unique and Bengal would

ever remember the great sacrifice which their leader did for their good and for the good of Bengal. Mahatmaji then thanked Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Sir Nilratan Sarcar and other members of the trust who had worked hard so long for the prosperity of the institution which would be the living memory of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, the karmayogi of Bengal.

Proceeding, Mahatmaji said that the members of the trust had appealed for more funds for the maintenance and further development of the institution. He also joined with them in their appeal and asked the people of Bengal to contribute according to their means to the Seva Sadan Fund. In conclusion Mahatmaji hoped that middle and higher class women of Bengal would spare no pains to keep this institution alive as a fitting memorial of Deshbandhu Das.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 3-1-1929

373. SAROJINI DEVI'S LETTER

The following graphic and poetic account of her experiences during her American visit sent by Shrimati Sarojini Devi will be read with interest:[1]

> . . . I am writing tonight from the charming old town of Cincinnati which is called the Gateway of the South, where long ago lived a very noble woman who dedicated her genius to the deliverance of the Negroes from their pitiful bondage. I have just returned from interpreting to a large audience (whose parents and grandparents knew Harriet Beecher Stowe in the days when she was writing the poignant tale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) the message of the 'Mystic Spinners'. . . .
>
> And through me the New World sends back a greeting of love for the Mystic Spinner and admiration for the Land whose people are set out on the way of self-deliverance from their sevenfold bondage.

Young India, 3-1-1929

374. 'BROKEN'[2]

A friend sends me a number of *Spiritual Life* which contains a beautiful paragraph under the heading "Broken" which reminds one of so many hymns by Tulsidas, Surdas and the other saints that I am tempted to give the following condensation of the paragraph:

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] This appeared under the title "Notes".

God uses most for His glory those people and things which are most perfectly broken. The sacrifices He accepts are broken and contrite hearts. It was the thorough breaking-down of Jacob's natural strength at Peniel that got him where God could clothe him with spiritual power. It was by breaking the surface of the rock at Horeb by the stroke of Moses' rod, that it let out the cool waters to thirsty people.

It was when the three hundred elect soldiers under Gideon broke their pitchers, a type of breaking themselves, that the hidden lights shone forth to the consternation of their adversaries. It was when the poor widow broke the seal of the little pot of oil, and poured it forth, that God multiplied it to pay her debts and supply means of support.

It is when a beautiful grain of corn is broken up in the earth by death, that its inner heart sprouts forth and bears hundreds of other grains. And thus on and on through all history, and all biography, and all vegetation, and all spiritual life, God must have *broken things*.

Those who are broken in wealth and broken in heart, broken in their ambitions, broken in their beautiful ideals, broken in worldly reputation, broken in their affections, and broken sometimes in health, and those who are despised, and seem utterly helpless and forlorn, the Holy Ghost is seizing upon and using for God's glory. It is "the lame that take the prey", Isaiah tells us. It is the weak that overcome the devil. God is waiting to take hold of our failures and cleanse away the cause and shine through us in victory.

The paragraph shows how religion at its highest is one.

Young India, 3-1-1929

375. *LALAJI MEMORIAL*[1]

After consultation with several friends interested in the Lalaji Memorial we have decided to devote the collections to the following objects:

1. Four lakhs and twenty five thousand for the maintenance of the Servants of the People Society.

2. Twenty five thousand for the completion of the Lajpat Rai Hall which is already half finished.

3. Fifty thousand for the consolidation of the work done through the Society for the uplift of the suppressed classes.

[1] This was an enclosure to the following item. It appeared under the title "Notes".

We propose to utilize the first proceeds for the first object and the rest for the second and the third respectively. But it is open to any donor to earmark his donation and it will be utilized according to his or her wish.

The Society was founded in 1920. The object of the Society is to enlist and train national missionaries for the service of the country whose duty it is to work for its educational, political, social and economic uplift. There are at present sixteen life-members who are pledged to devote their whole time and attention to the fulfilment of the object. There are two Assistant members. There are six Associates. Seven members are engaged exclusively in the suppressed classes' work.

Lajpat Rai Hall was conceived and commenced by Lala Lajapt Rai for the purpose of accommodating the library collected by him and for delivering political and other lectures. It was found difficult, if not impossible, to hire, at reasonable rates, a hall in Lahore for political lectures.

The work among the suppressed classes is distributed in several areas and touches every department of their lives.

It was a serious question as to who should guide the Society and take, so far as possible, Lalaji's place in this connection. Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon enjoyed Lalaji's confidence in the fullest measure. He is one of the earliest associates of the Society and was in close touch with its affairs during Lalaji's lifetime. He has consented to take charge of the affairs of the Society as its president. We feel therefore that the public need have no anxiety or fear as to the character of the future work of the Society and we hope that the appeal for subscriptions will receive a quicker and more liberal response than hitherto.

M. A. Ansari
Madan Mohan Malaviya
Ghanshyamdas Birla

Young India, 10-1-1929

376. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 6, 1929

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

Here is a copy of a statement[1] I propose to issue on behalf of the trustees of the Lalaji Memorial Fund. Will you please wire your consent? If I do not hear from you to the contrary, I propose to publish the same.

I hope you are none the worse for the terrific strain of Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1.

From a photostat: S.N. 15256-a

377. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 6, 1929

This is to introduce Mr. Jiwanlal Motichand to you. He has been a most constant supporter and friend of all my constructive activities. He has a good aluminium business in Calcutta and elsewhere. He has been to England once. This time he is combining business with recreation which he needs very badly. I know that you will give him all the assistance you can and he may need.

With love,

HENRY S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
42, 47 & 48 DANES INN HOUSE
265 STRAND
LONDON W.C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 14983

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

378. LETTER TO G. M.[1]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 6, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry for your bereavement. You will not meet your child in the flesh. There is therefore no question of recognition in the flesh. But this hankering after meeting in the flesh is surely not true love. Love to be true must be transferred to the soul within and, on that spiritual platform, there never has been separation. But that union transcends earthly relations.

Yours sincerely,

G. M.
C/o CONGRESS KHADI BHANDAR
BHADRAK
ORISSA

From a photostat: S.N. 15257

379. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

Sunday, January 6, 1929

BHAI MAMA,

I have your postcard. I arrived here last night. Bring along Jaggu and his wife. We shall lodge her in the women's quarters. Do you still require help for the house? If so, how much?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3822

[1] Addressee's full name is not available.

380. MESSAGE TO CHRISTIAN INDIANS[1]

[Before *January 7, 1929*]

If Christian Indians will not cease to be Indians because they are Christians, they will identify themselves with all national movements and with the starving millions by listening to the message of the spinning-wheel.

The Hindu, 7-1-1929

381. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 7, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

No time to write beyond saying we had a most comfortable journey to Delhi and thence to the Ashram.

Hope you had a good time at Santiniketan.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5329. Courtesy: Mirābehn; also G.N. 9384

382. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Tuesday [*January 8, 1929*][2]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I see no harm in your prolonging your stay there. It is true that I shall have to leave this place about the 20th. Ba and Keshu stayed in Delhi for two days. Travelling *via* Delhi saved eight rupees for each person and eight hours.

Kashi's Address:

Satyabadi, Sakhi Gopal, *via* Cuttack

The work here is going on very well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] This was sent through *The Guardian* of Calcutta.

[2] From the postmark

[PS.]

My diet is still the same.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 502. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

383. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

Tuesday, January 8, 1929

MY DEAR BHRRR[1],

I am warned betimes. But remember, the Gujarat mail does not go to Sabarmati and it is the day of convocation. I therefore propose to send somebody's car to Ahmedabad, where you will be received. I can't give Raihana a drive in the royal cart.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9565

384. LETTER TO TARABEHN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 8, 1929

CHI. TARA,

Be satisfied that I dictate this letter rather than delay in writing to you. It is not right. I am sorry that you do not keep good health. Keeping good health is an art, which everyone should learn. Why should you not come to the Ashram? If you come and stay here in peace for a few months perhaps you may learn that art. I am planning to go to Rangoon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8784

[1] This was a form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

385. LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO B. DESHPANDE

January 9, 1929

BHAI GANGADHARRAO,

This telegram was received today. What is it about?

I think you will send me an account of Pundalik's satyagraha.[1] What was the outcome of the satyagraha?

I hope your health is all right.

Kaka is, of course, quite busy.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5225

386. THE CONGRESS

Last year's was a remarkable Congress in more ways than one. It was remarkable for the attendance of delegates, visitors and spectators, it was remarkable for the resolutions it passed; it was remarkable for the compromises the leaders made and broke. There was both reality and terrible unreality about the Congress. But behind the unreality it showed the greatest possibilities for the nation. The bubbling enthusiasm of the people who knew nothing of the unreality was an unmistakable proof of what the nation could do if it was properly harnessed and its energies turned into profitable channels.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's address was eminently practical. It was even great for the boldness with which he defended the Report[2] and for presenting the nation with an unexciting but true programme in spite of the clamour for unadulterated excitement. The whole address is a piece of constructive statesmanship. It promises the substance of independence instead of the shadow of which one hears so much nowadays.

If thus Pandit Motilal Nehru's address is boldly constructive, Sjt. Sen Gupta's is usefully destructive and polemical. He defends and accepts the Nehru Report rightly as a step towards the goal

[1] A satyagraha was launched in Miraj State in Maharashtra against the unreasonably enhanced rate of land revenue. Narayan Tamaji Katagade alias "Pundalik" had to assume its leadership when it took a violent turn.

[2] The Nehru Report

of complete independence. His address clears the ground as if by design for the Presidential address. He successfully explodes the doctrine of Britain's trusteeship and the 'blessings' of British rule. He asserts that Britain has never done justice except under pressure of physical force and concludes by insisting on freedom at any cost. To this end he demands social revolution equally with the political. Both the addresses show that there is no political progress without equal social progress, if the former is to come, as it must to be real, from internal effort and not as a gesture from the British 'trustees' in answer to India's 'prayer'.

Hence the 'tame' programme of social reconstruction and effort. Behind the 'tameness' lies the battery for storing the necessary strength for internal and national political effort.

Overhaul Congress

The first item of preliminary importance therefore is the overhauling of the Congress. It is owing to my hurried draftsmanship that reorganization of the Congress stands fifth in the list in the second resolution[1] moved by me. It should have stood first by right. For without complete overhauling of the Congress, there will be no other work. If the Congress which is the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? The Congress is the power-house from which all the power for all the work is to be derived. If the power-house is rotten, the whole national work must be necessarily so.

The delegates to the Congress were mostly self-appointed. The election procedure laid down by the Congress constitution was discovered to have broken down. This was one of the terrible unrealities about the great annual demonstration. If the fight for swaraj whether defined as independence or dominion status is to be solid and real, the re-formation of the Congress is the first need to which the Working Committee has to devote its attention. Let nothing be hushed. We shall gain nothing by a policy of 'hush hush'. The disease must be made known all over the Congress world before it can be successfully tackled. Every organization to be living must show growth. But the Congress is suffering from internal decay. And even as a patient suffering from tuberculosis often shows ruddiness and plumpness, so is the Congress showing every year the ruddiness and plumpness of a consumptive patient betraying to the seeing eye of the physician the surest signs of approaching decay. As at present constituted,

[1] *Vide* pp. 313-4.

the Congress is unable to put forth real, united and unbreakable resistance. If the Calcutta demonstration were a reality, there was no reason why such a vast mass of people as had gathered there could not wrest power from unwilling hands. But the demonstrators had gone not to demonstrate strength, they had gone as if to a circus as sightseers. And strange as it may appear, the Congress pandal was constructed as an adjunct to and in the midst of an enlarged edition of Filis's circus.

Warning to Punjab

This must be changed if we are to exhibit reality at the next Congress. The volunteers dressed in European fashion presented, in my opinion, a sorry spectacle at Calcutta and the expense incurred was out of keeping with the pauperism of the nation. They were no representatives of rough and rugged businesslike farmers. The Punjab has to alter this.

The Congress must not be used for making money. If there is to be a surplus, it must be a surplus from the humble offerings of poor but real representatives of a poor nation coming to the annual gathering not as idle sightseers but as soldiers eager to take part in the annual stock-taking and ready to give a good account of themselves on the occasion arriving.

If I had my way I should separate the deliberative portion from the demonstrative and spectacular. I should exclude visitors from the deliberative section; or if they must be allowed, I should have an open air enclosure divided into sections strongly but elegantly fenced. Meetings in the enclosure will then have to be held during the early morning hours and in the evenings. This will at once simplify the labours of the reception committee and result in great economy. Artistic decorations are surely possible in an open air enclosure which is any day preferable from the standpoint of hygiene to a closed pandal which suffocates, no matter how well ventilated it may be.

We are a nation passing through the valley of humiliation. So long as we have not secured our freedom we have not the least excuse at the annual stock-taking season for amusements, riotous or subdued. It is a week of serious business, introspection and heart-searching; it is a week for evolving national policies and framing programmes for giving battle to a power perhaps the strongest and the most vicious the world has ever seen. I submit that it is impossible to do clear thinking or to evolve programmes political, social, economic and educational in the midst of distraction, noise, rush and a lavish display of boisterous amusements

fit enough for a children's pantomime, entirely out of place as an appendage to a deliberative assembly intent on preparing for a grim life and death struggle. Our annual exhibition ought therefore to be strictly of an educative character and its organization should be entrusted to an expert body like the All-India Spinners' Association. Indeed, it is the only body fit to handle it, so long as the Congress retains khadi as the centre of its policy of boycott of foreign cloth and of economic reform among the millions of India's peasantry.

PREPARE NOW

If the Punjab is in earnest, it will profit by the lessons of Calcutta. It will give up nothing of the glowing enthusiasm of Calcutta but would shed all its unreality which damped one's hope. If the Punjab begins now in a businesslike fashion to work out every item of the Congress programme, it may even hope to celebrate the attainment of a constitution as portrayed in the Nehru Report. If in spite of its best effort, such a consummation has not come about by the end of the year, it has to show its preparedness for inaugurating a no-tax campaign and such other direct action as may then be devised by the Congress. If the Punjab means all this, it will begin by putting the Congress organization in perfect order without any prompting from above, it will enroll members by the thousand and show an absolutely honest and clean register of membership and an equally clean record of its accounts. It will hasten to remove all internal friction and squabbles. A year is none too much for the preparation suggested in these lines. Will the Punjab rise to the occasion? If it cannot, the next best thing it can do is in all humility to advise the Working Committee that it cannot shoulder the responsibility hastily undertaken by its leaders.

Young India, 10-1-1929

387. HINDI IN BENGAL

The Hindi Prachar Conference that met in Calcutta during the Congress Week lasted not more than two hours and had only two speeches, one by Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose who in spite of the busy time he had with his volunteers and the Congress reception work made time for becoming the Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The other was by me as President. Sjt. Bose's speech was printed. He read the Devanagari script without difficulty. His pronunciation was almost faultless. The address was short and businesslike. He effectively disposed of the calumny that Bengal was indifferent to Hindi by reminding his audience that it was Bhudev Mukerji who strove to popularize Hindi and Devanagari script in Bihar, it was Navinchandra Ray who strove likewise in the Punjab, it was Swami Shri Chintamani Ghosh who was responsible in the United Provinces for the publication of many useful Hindi books, it was Justice Sharadacharan Mitra who was the father of the idea that there should be one script for all India and that it must be Devanagari, it is Amritlal Chakravarti who is issuing a Hindi newspaper, it is Ravindranath Tagore who has published the popular translation of some of Kabir's songs, it is Sjt. Kshitish Mohan Sen of Shantiniketan who has made and is still making researches in the writings of Hindi saints, it is Sjt. Nagendranath Vasu who is issuing his monumental Hindi Encyclopaedia[1] and it is Sjt. Ramanand Chatterjee who is issuing a Hindi monthly called *Vishal Bharat*. He recognized the necessity of Hindi for establishing touch with labour. He ended by promising to be the first to enlist himself for learning Hindi.

My speech simply suggested that a beginning should be made by establishing free Hindi classes in Calcutta after the style of Madras and made an appeal for subscriptions on the spot.

A resolution was passed forming a Committee, at least for one year, for the purpose of carrying on Hindi propaganda in Bengal with a view to making it a permanent body. The Committee consists of Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla who has consented to act as Treasurer, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, Sjt. Prabhu Dayal, Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta, Sjt. Banarasidas Chaturvedi, Editor, *Vishal Bharat*, Sjt. Ranglal Jajodia, Sjt. Baijnath Kedia, Sjt.

[1] *Vide* pp. 331-2.

Mahavirprasad Poddar and Baba Raghavdas, Prachar Mantri, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. The following have offered their services as part-time honorary Hindi teachers:

Sjt. Satyadev	Sjt. Devadatt
Sjt. Ramshankar	Sjt. Madanlal
Sjt. V. K. Ghosh	Sjt. Rameshchandra
Sjt. Bhajavaram	Sjt. Vikasitji
Sjt. Rajaram Pande	Sjt. Krishna Gopal Tewari

There was a handsome response to the appeal for collections, over Rs. 3,000 having been collected on the spot.

Those who offered their services as teachers were duly warned by me of the responsibility they shouldered. They were to be not merely Hindi teachers but interpreters of Indian culture and Indian purity. Hindi was to be taught not merely as any language but as the national language. As Hindi for Hindus it was a language of religion and morals. Millions could not be expected to learn Sanskrit but they could receive the message of the Vedas through Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabir and a host of other saints who kept the well of religion undefiled. They were moreover to teach Hindi as also Hindustani, not as a rival to Urdu. It was to be a blend of Hindi and Urdu. They had therefore to be repositories of purity of character and strength of purpose. Theirs was a noble mission demanding nobility of conduct.

In spite of a resolution of the Congress and its constitution the Congress proceedings are still often carried on in English for the benefit principally of the delegates from the South and Bengal. If in both the provinces those who propose to do national work make full use of the facilities provided in these provinces, the way will be clear for the forthcoming Congress to conduct its proceedings wholly in Hindi-Hindustani—surely a consummation devoutly to be wished for in view especially of the momentous resolution of the Calcutta Congress. There is no independence for the masses if their representatives cannot conduct their proceedings in the national language. When the true yearning for swaraj comes, there will be no need for English speech in the national assembly. English will still have its place and a place of importance at that. It will be and must remain the language of international diplomacy and intercourse. But it must not be allowed to usurp the function of the national language.

Young India, 10-1-1929

388. NOTES

KHADI BHANDAR IN CALCUTTA

A khadi bhandar was opened in Calcutta, 251 Harrison Road, by me on new year's day in the presence of Pandit Malaviyaji. The bhandar owes its origin to a conversation I had at Wardha with Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla. He and his brothers are noted for their silent munificent charities. Among the many causes helped by Sjt. Ghanshyamdas khadi has been one. I have always felt the need of a depot that would relieve the pressure, in times of need, on production centres which are generally made responsible by the All-India Spinners' Association for the sale of the khadi they manufacture. I suggested to Sjt. Birla that he should not only give money but he should also give the use of his mercantile talents to khadi. I told him that if the merchant princes of India took no personal interest in khadi it could not in the near future be made universal merely through the effort of the clerical class who were largely manning the Association. Sjt. Ghanshyamdas appreciated the argument. Hence the khadi bhandar of Calcutta. It has secured the services of a khadi lover in Sjt. Mahavirprasad Poddar of Gorakhpur. Malaviyaji blessed the effort. The arrangement was to sell khadi immediately after the opening ceremony. Nearly five thousand rupees worth of khadi was sold on the spot.

This bhandar is in no way designed to compete with the Khadi Pratishthan and Abhoy Ashram which have large depots. On the other hand, it is designed to supplement and support them. My own opinion is that in the lines which they manufacture, there should be no variation in prices by way of pooling or other adjustment. Such adjustment will take place only regarding khadi received from other provinces. I hope that the public will liberally support this bhandar so as to enable it adequately to perform the function for which it is designed. Needless to say that there is behind this effort no idea whatsoever of making profits.

"HINDI VISHVA KOSH"

Reference has already been made to Sjt. Vasu's Hindi cyclopaedia in my notice of the Hindi Prachar Conference.[1] I knew of this great work two years ago. I knew too that the author

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

was ailing and bedridden. I was so struck with Sjt. Vasu's labours that I had a mind to see the author personally and know all about his work. I had therefore promised myself this pilgrimage during my visit to Calcutta for the Congress. It was only on my way to Khadi Pratishthan at Sodepur that I was able to carry out my promise. I was amply rewarded. I took the author by surprise for I had made no appointment. I found him seated on his bed in a practically unfurnished and quite unpretentious room. There were no chairs. There was just by his bedside a cupboard full of books and behind a small desk. He offered me a seat on his bed. I sat instead on a stool near it.

He is a martyr to asthma of which he showed ample signs during my brief stay with him. "I feel better when I talk to visitors and forget my disease for the moment. When you leave me, I shall suffer more," said Sjt. Vasu.

This is a summary description he gave me of his enterprise: "I was 19 when I began my Bengali cyclopaedia. I finished the last volume when I was 45. It was a great success. There was a demand for a Hindi edition. The late Justice Sharadacharan Mitra suggested that I should myself publish it. I began my labours when I was 47 and am now 63. It will take three years more to finish this work. If I do not get more subscribers or other help, I stand to lose Rs. 25,000 at the present moment. But I do not mind. I have faith that when I come to the end of my resources, God will send me help. These labours of mine are my *sadhana*[1]. I worship God through them, I live for my work."

There was no despondency about Sjt. Vasu but a robust faith in his mission. I was thankful for this pilgrimage which I should never have missed. As I was talking to him I could not but recall Dr. Murray's[2] labours on his great work. I am not sure who is the greater of the two. I do not know enough of either. But why any comparison between giants? Enough for us to know that nations are made from such giants.

The address of the printing works behind which the author lives is: 9 Vishvakosh Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.

Young India, 10-1-1929

[1] Spiritual effort

[2] Sir James Augustus Henry Murray (1835-1917), British lexicographer, editor of *New English Dictionary*

389. SPEECH DURING YOUTH WEEK, AHMEDABAD[1]

January 10, 1929

As your President has mentioned, I am now so busy with my activities that I can hardly spare even a moment from them. But because of my affection for children and your pressing invitation, I had no alternative but to come here. With regret, I had to make this condition that it would not be possible for me to see all the items on the programme or take part in the children's merriment.

I am watching the work done by the youth associations all over India. I must admit that I cannot say that I like all that is being done. Again, as explained by the President, co-operation between the old and the young is essential. It is pardonable if an old man like me cannot work with you, but I must add, "please do not altogether rule out the old". Bear in mind that you too will grow old and, although we are advanced in age, our minds are as fresh as yours. It is impossible that your soul will always stay in a youthful body. The conduct and efforts of one whose soul is always pure are unique and I wish that everyone living in India has such a soul.

The Government provides for your education from the income received through the excise department. The 25-30 crores that make up the income of this department are extracted from the poor; in other words, the education imparted to you is from the money collected by sucking the blood of the poor.

Condition of youth in India is the same as that of others. They also have the zeal for swaraj. Some seem to dislike this name and have substituted an English name for it—and there is a duel going on between the two names. I wish to protect you from this duel, because perhaps I may have greater enthusiasm and greater zeal for India's independence than you. And why not? You have a whole age before you, while I have passed that age and I am on the brink of death—and therefore if I claim to have a greater desire for the independence of India than you, it cannot be considered wrong.

I wish to give you some advice—and in a field where I have

[1] The fourth day of the fifth Youth Week at Ahmedabad was observed as Children's Day. Dr. Hariprasad, while reading the report of the activities of the Yuvak Sangh, referred to the victimization and consequent strike of students in the Gujarat College. *Vide* pp. 385-7.

much experience. I merely wish to advise you not to be deceived by names. If I place before you a rose made out of paper and a withered but real rose with only a few petals, you would still like to have the latter though it is shrunken. Similarly if you really wish to test the pulse of India, do not run after names. Engage yourselves in work. The fragrance of independence lies in work.

You are at present in the midst of a crisis. A struggle should always bring joy. I have not made a study of the entire situation in your college. But from what I have come to know I think that your stand is just. As I am a staunch enemy of the present administration and always hope for its overthrow, I wish that some good people side with you. But even those who are good cannot remain so in the administration under which they work, since injustice lies at the very root of this administration.

I have not met the other party, yet from what I have gathered as a result of my contacts, I feel that your strike is justified. It is not strange that your Principal should find the foundation of the Empire shaken by this insignificant strike. If I were the Principal then I too would have, like him, seen in it the fall of the flag of Empire. I hope that you would justify the fears of the Principal.

When the revolt of 1857 was over, Lord Canning said that they should not be deceived even if a small distinct cloud, not bigger than a thumb, is seen in the skies of India. His warning is justified. I hope that this small cloud of yours is a signal for a bigger one. If you had not taken this step you would not have been blamed, but if you back out now, remember that you will be censured. A brave man fights desperately after entering the battle-field—and would be ready to meet death. Spies alone will go looking behind.

There is no question of death here; at the most you will waste one or two or, perhaps five or seven years. And if this does happen, what are you going to lose? I believe that at the end it will be a gain for you. Do not be disheartened even if you yourselves are totally boycotted. Nothing can be achieved if you do not even sacrifice this much. What even if your number rose from one to ten thousand? What is the value of even those 10,000 pebbles on the other banks of the Sabarmati? It is sufficient if out of the 1,000 even ten turn out to be diamonds. If all of you become pebbles, you will be of no use to anyone. May you achieve victory in your struggle—such is my hope and my wish.

Before I conclude I specially wish to warn you that you must never be discourteous. Do not insult the teachers or utter

bitter words. Harsh words do no good. They will only create bitterness. And if there is hard work combined with courtesy, you will do credit to yourselves and your name will be cherished in future history. Be courteous at heart as well. Your struggle is a peaceful one, and whatever the provocation, you may not cross the limits of peacefulness.

I hope that Mr. Shirras'[1] fear may prove true. The flag of India, and the reins too, are in your hands. An old man like me has no right to hold those reins. I congratulate you for having stood firm in your strike so far.

For the sake of the poor, recognize the importance of the spread of khadi. This also is the main plank of the programme framed by the Congress. I am not at the root of that resolution. Its origin lies in the President's speech and I was only instrumental in bringing forward the resolution.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 13-1-1929

390. MESSAGE TO THE THIRD GATHERING OF GRADUATES

January 12, 1929

The old and the new graduates of the Vidyapith should think and decide what they are going to contribute to the *yajna* of swaraj at this critical juncture.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

Sabarmati, Vol. VII, Number 3

[1] Findlay Shirras was then the Principal of the Gujarat College.

391. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 12, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I instructed Subbiah to send you my answer yesterday in reply to your letter. Your programme stands. I see you are compelling me to travel on Sunday night, that is, whilst I am silent. I would of course have preferred all suspension of travel for 24 hours, that is, during my silent hours. But if it cannot be done, I do not mind.

What about that place in Sind at which through my stupidity I did not see the people who had assembled on the platform to see me at midnight whilst we were going back to Hyderabad? If that place has got to be done, that is, if the people want it, I am prepared to redeem the promise even if it means extension of a day unless you will take the day from the programme already sent.

I do not know the whereabouts of Manilal. You will trace him and see to his going to Sind. Do you make the visit contingent upon his going to Sind, or am I to take the programme as an absolute fixture?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
BOMBAY VIEW, GOWALIA TANK ROAD, BOMBAY

From the original: C.W. 9251. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

392. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 12, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your telegram[1]. I had certainly intended to tour in some parts of the U.P. in response to a request made by some workers in Banda and Jhansi. But they withdrew the request, being diffident. The tour, therefore, was cancelled. There is yet another in prospect and that is near Meerut and Delhi. They want me to go there in March. But for March I have so many engagements from which I have got to choose. There is Andhra, there is Karnatak and there is Burma besides Delhi and Meerut; and there is also the Punjab. Lalaji's Society people want me there for their anniversary celebration. I am awaiting Father's decision as to the proposed European visit. If he cancels that visit, then the way will be open for me to satisfy all the demands upon my time. If he wants the European visit to come off, then I may not extend my tour beyond the first week of April. I cannot take the matter any further just now. But I would like you to help me to make my choice. You will consult Father about his wishes and that will enable you to guide me better.

By the time this reaches you, Father will have probably telegraphed to me his opinion. If he has not, please see that he does.

How is Kamala doing now? And how are you yourself faring? You have become Secretary. I want you to throw yourself heart and soul therefore into the programme, and compel obedience to instructions from the Working Committee and try to bring order out of the existing disgraceful disorder.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15276

[1] Dated January 11, 1929. It read: "Papers announce you touring North United Provinces. Hope you will extend tour South also."

393. *LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 12, 1929

THE SECRETARY
BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION
SANAWAR (PUNJAB)
DEAR SIR,

We in the Satyagraha Ashram are interesting ourselves in the question of bee-keeping. We have learnt about the Bee-keepers' Association from the publication of the Punjab Agricultural Department entitled *A Guide to Bee-keeping.* We will be obliged if you would kindly let me know whether the Bee-keepers' Association at Simla mentioned in the book is still in existence and whether someone from the Ashram can go there for receiving practical instructions in bee-keeping.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14984

394. *MY NOTES*

THE NATIONAL FLAG

A lover of the nation puts down his thoughts as follows:[1]

I have also had the painful experience of which this correspondent has written. There was inconsistency even about the national flag that was unfurled at the hands of Pandit Motilal at the Congress session. There was no spinning-wheel on it. So far the Indian National Congress has not passed a resolution to decide upon the dimensions of the national flag, its colour, etc.[2]

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained of lack of uniformity in national flags and of the use of mill-cloth and foreign cloth for them.

[2] The A.I.C.C. adopted a resolution in August 1931, determining the specifications of the national flag. It consisted of saffron, white and green horizontal stripes with the spinning-wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe. The resolution also stated that the colours stood for qualities and not communities.

But in 1920 my proposal was accepted almost unanimously. If those who believe in khadi and in the unity of Hindus, Muslims and others stick to my original proposal correctly and voluntarily, the occasion will readily come for the Congress to decide upon a flag. It would certainly be an unbearable and shameful matter if the spinning-wheel is not the focal point in the flag, and if it is made of foreign or Indian mill-made cloth.

Fascination for English

The same correspondent writes:[1]

This is indeed a fact. Not only do pupils and teachers devote a third of their modest talent to English, but many devote all or most of it to English and even after doing all this their greed is not satiated. The efforts to break this spell of English can be directed in two ways: those who love English should stick to it and translate attractively into the national language the literature and the special knowledge found in it and those not knowing English should, despite lack of knowledge of that language, leave the stamp of their own personality on the people and prove that a knowledge of English is not essential for development of character, for intellectual progress, courage or inventiveness.

Let me point out an error in the correspondent's reasoning. He wishes that the propaganda to undermine the status of English should be launched through *Young India*; how can that be? To launch this propaganda through *Young India*, that journal itself should be closed down. The advent of *Young India* has proved to be a sort of headache to me. I believe and a number of my friends believe that the success of *Young India* has, to some extent, added to the fascination for English. Some young men see a consequence in a mere sequence when they infer that I have proved the necessity of a knowledge of English by accepting the editorship of *Young India*. As a matter of fact, my assumption of the editorship can only prove that knowing English and being a practical man, I have made use of that knowledge to suit the circumstances. The conclusion may also be drawn from this that knowledge of English is not to be renounced. But an infatuation for English at the cost of the national language is reprehensible. However, it is difficult for me to explain this distinction so long as I continue to publish *Young India* and, as I believe that the latter too renders some service, it is difficult even to give it up all

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that fascination for English had not lessened and that pupils and teachers of national schools spent too much time on it.

of a sudden. Hence *Navajivan* alone can take up the task of ending the false status of English and that too not by publishing articles on the need to do so, but by increasingly improving itself, by adding to its usefulness and by proving in practice that nothing more than what is published in it about service to the country could be available in English. I know that *Navajivan* falls short from this point of view. The attempt to remedy the shortcoming is going on.

Obscenity on Trains

A passenger writes to say:[1]

Those who write obscene words will hardly be reading *Navajivan* and hence there is nothing that I can write here for them. But I believe many cultured people read *Navajivan*. I feel the suggestion made to them is quite practicable. It is not that we come across obscene writing in latrines only. I had seen such writing on the walls of a well-known street in Bhuj during my tour of Kutch. One may perhaps come across this even in other cities. The municipality should efface such writings wherever they are found and should paste prohibitory notices in those places.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-1-1929

395. *AHIMSA AMONG THE JAINS*

I do not touch upon the matter of the calf[2] in *Navajivan*; none should therefore conclude that I have forgotten about it. Two types of people have criticized my action: one, those who are full of anger against me, two, those who are thoughtful. I know that my action which appears to me to be innocent has shocked the second type of people, and chiefly the Jains among them. I have been scrutinizing Jain literature. I believed there ought to be a great deal of support for my action in the Jain books. An expert professing the Jain religion had sent me his opinion and an article in which I found such support. Hence I carried on correspondence with known Jain friends. As a result I have re-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had urged Gandhiji to write in *Navajivan* appealing to educated readers to efface obscene writings inside latrines on trains.

[2] The killing of an ailing calf in the Ashram caused great commotion in certain circles. *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 310-5.

ceived the following article[1]. I publish it for the benefit of those who can think objectively.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-1-1929

396. AVERSION TO KHADI

A Brahmin from the South writes:[2]

We shall not know how many such wearers of khadi there must be in every nook and corner. It is a matter of sorrow and surprise that those who wear a cap or other garments of khadi are ridiculed by our own people. But those who have accepted the dharma to wear khadi should be able to suffer it. I remember that when I went to England, for fear that I would be ridiculed, I had decided to wear my hair in the English style rather than have it cut in accordance with the native practice. For the same reason, I dispensed with my tuft too. But one to whom his duty has become clear will stick to it, abjuring all fear of ridicule, etc. If khadi is an *Annapurna*[3] to the starving peasants dwelling in the seven lakh villages of India, the thoughtful will stick to it, despite ridicule, contempt or risk of being beaten up. This Brahmin should never permit himself to think that he is low or contemptible because he is a cook. Neither the profession of a cook nor that of cleaning latrines is low. King Nala had cultivated cooking as an art. Every mother cleans latrines. I hope this Brahmin will stick to his khadi cap, and realize that an essential service can never be degrading.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-1-1929

[1] Not translated here

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, who had studied up to the fifth standard, served as a cook. People ridiculed him for wearing a khadi cap.

[3] Giver of plenty

397. A FINE SUGGESTION

Shri Mathuradas Purushottam writes as follows on how to make khadi cheap:[1]

I think this is a good suggestion. If there is true patriotism in the country, if the people have even a little faith in the constructive programme, it should not be difficult to find a lakh of people to undertake the task of sewing. The art of sewing according to a given pattern is both easy and enjoyable. There are sewing machines in a number of houses; if one or two hours of leisure are given to this work for the sake of the country, ready-made garments of khadi will surely sell very cheap and all talk of khadi being expensive will end. People buy khadi in order to make garments out of it. It is likely that many other ideas will strike us as a result of this suggestion. At the moment I place this attractive suggestion before the reader and I solicit the names and addresses of those who know sewing and are willing to sew as a measure of sacrifice. Tailors can make a very great contribution to this work. The Wadhwan tailor, the late Motilal, used to sew for an hour for his livelihood and utilize the rest of his time to serve others and used to teach sewing gladly to those who were desirous of learning. This noble example is there for all tailors and others to emulate.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-1-1929

398. WHAT SHOULD STUDENTS DO?[2]

A sort of awakening and turmoil have spread among students as among others in the whole country. That is an auspicious sign but it can easily turn into its opposite too. If steam is confined within a limited space, one can make a steam-engine, whose enormous power can haul mighty loads. If, however, it is not harnessed, it either goes waste or causes destruction. In like

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that if khadi was purchased and made into garments and put up for sale without adding stitching charges, etc., it could compete with garments made out of mill-cloth.

[2] *Vide* also pp. 333-5 and pp. 385-7.

manner, if the steam that is being produced today among the students is not kept under control, it will either go waste or destroy us all; if it is intelligently harnessed, it will generate great power.

The strike of the students of the Gujarat College that is going on at present, is a product of this steam that has been released. From what I have heard, I believe that both the students' strike and their complaint are just. They had participated in the boycott of the Simon Commission in October last and had absented themselves from the College. For doing so, the Principal had conveyed his decision to them that those who wished to appear for the examination would have to pay a fee of Rs. 3. Those who did not appear for the examinations would not be punished. Despite this decision, I hear that the Principal has adopted another policy and is compelling everyone to pay Rs. 3 and sit for the examination. The strike is against this order and, if the facts are as above, injustice has been done to the students.

But the President of the Youth League says that the Principal is angry and he sees a danger to the Empire in this strike. The strike is harmless, it is a sign of youthful vigour. The Principal can avoid the danger by regarding it merely as a youthful exercise. But if by regarding the strike as a danger and a great sin, he persists in meting out some punishment, harsh or otherwise, what is not a danger today is likely to become a great danger tomorrow.

Speaking about the revolt of 1857, Lord Canning had observed that in the Indian skies a cloud no bigger than one's thumb could in a trice assume enormous proportions and no one could say when it would do so. Hence wise men should not underestimate an innocent little cloud but regard it as a symptom and administer necessary remedies.

This strike is a cloud small as a thumb; but it can generate power enough to blow up the sky. I certainly desire that such power should be generated. I have neither respect nor love for the modern British system of government. I have described it as the creation of Satan. I desire the destruction of that system once and for all. It is desirable in every way that such destruction is accomplished by the young men and women of India. It is in the hands of the students to acquire this destructive power. If they store up the steam 'that is being released among them, they could generate that force today.

The first thing is that the students should make a success of the strike begun by them. Had they not started it, no one would have

said anything to them. Having once begun it if they lose it, they will certainly deserve blame and will harm both themselves and their country. The worst result of the strike could only be that the Principal will expel the students for a long time or forever or will impose a fine for their re-admission. The students should face both these gladly. A brave man once in the field of battle never turns back. The students cannot now beat a retreat.

Moreover, students should never give up their good manners. They should not utter a single bitter word about the Principal or the professors. Harsh words harm the speaker and not the one addressed. The students have to keep their pledge and do a difficult task. It will surely have an effect. Out of this will be born the power to destroy this political system; it cannot but be so. Our young men and women should remember the example of Chinese students. Of them not one, nor two, but fifty thousand spread themselves into the villages and in a short while prepared both young and old by imparting to them literary and such other needed knowledge. If students desire to make a significant contribution to the *yajna* of swaraj, they must do something like what was done in China.

As I understand matters, students are desirous of sacrificing themselves in a peaceful struggle. Even if I am mistaken about the facts, the above applies to both kinds of war—with soul-force and brute force. Even if we want to fight with ammunition, we shall need to observe discipline; we shall have to store up the steam; up to a certain extent both have a common path. The Khalifas offered unique sacrifices for Islam, the Crusaders for Christianity and Cromwell and his warriors for political ends. Taking recent examples, Lenin, Sun Yat-sen and others have placed before the world instances of simplicity, endurance of hardship, sacrifice of enjoyments, single-minded devotion and eternal vigilance that would put even yogis to shame. Their followers have placed before us equally illustrious examples of devotion and discipline.

We must perforce make such sacrifices. Our sacrifices are no sacrifices, they are only trifling. Our capacity to observe rules is small, our simplicity is comparatively little, our devotion is almost insignificant, and our determination and concentration show themselves only in the beginning. Hence youths should remember that they have yet to accomplish much. I have not forgotten what they have achieved; they need no praise from me. If one friend praises another, he ceases to be a friend and becomes a pro-

fessional panegyrist and forfeits the title of friend. A friend's job is to point out failings and try to get these remedied.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-1-1929

399. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Sunday [January 13, 1929][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

What could I write when the programme was not settled? Now it has been settled. I start from here on the 31st and go to Sind, from where I shall return by the 15th. What I shall do after that has not been decided. My advice is that at present you should stay on there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 503. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

400. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 13, 1929

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

I have your letter. I expect that Manilal will be going to Sind. I do not know where he is at the present moment. I leave on the 31st instant for Karachi. It would be better to send someone on behalf of the Society[2] in advance.

As to my visit[3] to the Punjab for the opening ceremony, etc., in April, please ask me later. I am awaiting a communication from Pandit Motilalji before I can decide.

Yours sincerely,

LALA JAGANNATH
CARE PEOPLE
COURT STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15268

[1] From the postmark

[2] Servants of the People Society, Lahore

[3] Gandhiji was requested by the Servants of the People Society to preside over the anniversary of the Society which was to be held in April and perform the opening ceremony of the Lajpat Rai Hall.

401. LETTER TO KHURSHED NAOROJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 13, 1929

I have your letter.[1] I ought to have acknowledged it earlier, but I have been overwhelmed with work. Those Indo-Chinese friends will be welcome whenever they come.

I am sending a short message[2] to the friends.

Jamnabehn should come here because I go to Sind from here by the rail route. I leave here on 31st instant. Jamnabehn may come whenever she likes before 31st instant. Of course she is bringing with her a choice assortment of fine khadi. It would certainly be extremely nice if you will join me during my trip to Burma, if it ever comes off.

What happened to the balance of the stuff in Calcutta?

MISS KHURSHED NAOROJI
F 8 NAPEAN SEA ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15264

402. LETTER TO BUI QUANG-CHIEU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 13, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

Miss Khurshedbai Naoroji has written to me to say that you want a message from me. My message is:

True freedom lies through Truth and Non-violence and nothing else.

Yours sincerely,

BUI QUANG-CHIEU, ESQ.
P 253 SHAHNAGAR STREET
KALIGHAT P.O., CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15265

[1] The addressee had requested Gandhiji on behalf of the Indo-Chinese delegates to give a message to the people of Indo-China (S.N. 15263).

[2] *Vide* the following item.

403. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 13, 1929

I have your letter. What is one to do with Prakasam or anybody else? I have certainly not taken charge. I do not see how I can take the sole charge. I have today a letter from the Working Committee, copy of which I enclose. I shall frame some sort of a scheme. Let us simply do whatever we can in spite of adverse circumstances. In my opinion, dictatorship is out of question. When you receive the formal communication to prepare a scheme, I suppose you will prepare something and send it. If they put you in sole charge, you will ask for absolute powers and ask for the Congress Committees being put in proper order.

The health-god dealt with me most handsomely during the Calcutta strain. I am none the worse. In spite of reduced diet, bad hours, want of sleep, I had lost only one lb., and I have regained all the lost weight during the week I have been here. Yes, almonds, bread and vegetables seem to answer the purpose well. The quantity of almonds is for the last two days 6 ounces, bread untoasted 14 *tolas*. I am keeping well.

Encl.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM, TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 15273

404. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

January 13, 1929

DEAR SATISBABU,

Can you prepare the tricolour national flag with the charkha in it? The question is how to have the three colours nicely on one piece. If you can prepare it, let me have the price also.

You will keep me informed of how the new Khadi Bhandar[1] is going on.

I wish I could have given more days to you. Hemprabha Devi must not overwork herself. What is the cost there per head of feeding and how is it worked out?

Love.

BAPU

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1601

405. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

Sunday [January 13, 1929][2]

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Your letter. Have patience. Always remember Rama. He will remove all impurities.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Hindi original. Courtesy: National Archives of India; also G.N. 198

[1] *Vide* p. 331.
[2] From the postmark

406. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

January 14, 1929

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your wire and your letter too. I am going to Sind at the end of this month in connection with the Lalaji Memorial [Fund]. Did you collect any subscriptions in Calcutta?

Did you write to the South Indian gentleman whose name I had sent for the dairy? If he does not suit I can suggest a few other names.

As regards the Khadi Bhandar do not let its purpose slip off your mind. It ought not to be run merely on a commercial basis. It is to be conducted from an altruistic viewpoint.

My health is good. These days my diet consists of milk from 15 *tolas* almonds, 14 *tolas roti* (soaked), vegetable, raw tomatoes, 4 *tolas* linseed oil and 2 *tolas* of wheat flour gruel in the morning. I have left off fruit. The increase in weight in one week is 1½ lb.

I am maintaining good strength.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6152. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

407. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Monday [January 14, 1929][1]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. Let me have the date of departure of your ship for Rangoon. I would certainly like to go by it. Most probably it will be cheaper to sail from Calcutta. But you can guide me better.

We need not wire for the literature about bee-keeping. There is no urgency about it. The honey you sent is very sweet. Send me a book on chromopathy if you can get one. I hope grandmother is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4711. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] From the postmark

408. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Not revised *Silence Day, January 14, 1929*

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your love letters. I am glad indeed that you liked the poet and his great creation. Your letters soothed me. I have sent them to Mahadev for I know he will like them. I would like you to go there again and, if you will like it, before returning home.

I am satisfied so long as you do not expect long letters from me. But you need not shorten yours to spare me. I like your letters. They give me useful news and they are your temperature chart.

I do not mind your opinion of Krishnadas. I cannot endorse it. But give me the reasons for that terrible judgment. I might be able to correct it or endorse it. If it is the worst, I must know it. But I feel that I shall be able to correct your judgment. No one else has the opinion you have.

Things are going on well here. The kitchen is better ordered. Bread is almost perfect. Chhotelal has returned with more accurate information about bakeries. Surendra will be back in a few days.

I leave here on 31st instant for Sind, returning by 15th February. You shall have the Sind dates in due course.

I have regained my lost weight and added 1½ lb. It was 95½ yesterday after performance at the library. Fruit replaced by tomatoes. No lemon either.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5330. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9384

409. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 14, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters. I missed one mail as I have been very busy.

If it was left to me to give a name to Dhairyabala[1], I would call her Sita. It is a holy name. It is easy for friends there to pronounce and suggest the virtues we wish her to have. I considered some other names too, but could not think of a better one.

What need is there now to write about Sastriji? Keep me informed how the new Agent[2] is doing. Since I do not know him, I have not written a single line about him. The other reports that I have received are not favourable, but we should not form an opinion on the basis of these reports. It is possible that he may show only his better qualities there. You should not, any of you, be prejudiced against him from the beginning.

I am doing fairly well. At present I have given up goat's milk and fruits. Fruits I gave up after coming here. I take tomatoes instead, and almond-milk instead of goat's milk.

I hope you write to Ramdas. It appears he and Nimu are doing well at Bardoli. Devdas, Navin and Rasik are still in Delhi. All three are doing well. Mahadev is in Bardoli.

Kishorelal was here for four days. His health can be said to be fairly good. Ba, too, can be said to be well. We can say that she shows her age now. I have already written to you that she was with me at Calcutta. I returned *via* Delhi. Ba came later, having stayed on in Delhi for two days. Keshu had stayed back with her. Brijkishan has come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4749

[1] Daughter of the addressees

[2] Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi who took over the charge of the office of Agent in South Africa from V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on January 28, 1929

410. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

January 16, 1929

MIRABEHN
CARE KHADI BHANDAR
MUZAFFARPUR

WROTE FULLY YESTERDAY[1]. NOT LEAVING TILL THIRTYFIRST. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5331. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9386

411. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [On or before *January 16, 1929*][2]

CHI. NARANDAS,

You seem to have been hurt. I would have been happy to respect your wishes in regard to Chi. Santok[3], but I did not approve of your plan. For the manner of living of the mother and the daughters is so expensive that they would always have been a cause of discontent in the Ashram. Santok never liked the common kitchen, nor the inmates of the Ashram.

About the khadi training section, I have already stated my view that neither suggestions can be supported. I see nothing wrong in the view that the Ashram and not an individual should have the agency. I shall decide finally on the 18th at the latest. I want you to take interest in all activities and participate in them. Trust Chhaganlal. He is a sincere and hard-working man. Do not mind his errors, but consider his motive.

About Sannabhai, I have simply said that Chhaganlal Joshi's decision should be final. For no one of whom the secretary does not approve should remain.

[1] Presumably a slip for "day before yesterday"; *vide* p. 350.

[2] Year inferred from the allusion to the problem of Sntok; *vide* pp. 241-2. As Gandhiji asked Narandas to see him on the 18th, the date of this letter could be fixed on the preceding Wednesday which was 16th January.

[3] Widow of Maganlal Gandhi

You may write to me anything you wish to. If you can come over for the 18th, do so. If you think that both of you should come, do that. If you do not, I shall reach the decision which seems best to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro- 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine— Part I, p. 47

412. AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

Sjt. C. V. Rangam Chetty writes:

> Rev. . . . is the head of the American Mission Schools at . . . He deputed Mr. . . . , who was an Indian teacher in the Mission School at . . . and who knows mechanism, to go to . . . and bring materials for his motor-car. Mr. . . . purchased German material which is cheaper and better than the American. Rev. . . . refused to touch it and said that he would not like to pay his money so far as possible to any nation except America. Mr. . . . then sold the material to a Brahmin gentleman at . . . and purchased American material. Mr. . . . who was indifferent to my repeated requests to wear khaddar has now come forward to confess his folly and has resolved to wear khaddar in future after this incident. I hope our educated and rich countrymen will take a lesson from the American and set an example to others.

I have purposely omitted names and places as they are not germane to my theme. The point is quite clear. Whether the Reverend gentleman referred to did not overstep the limit of patriotism is not the point to be examined. The lesson Sjt. Rangam Chetty wishes to draw from the incident is quite legitimate. We, in our country, are in honour bound to prefer handspun khaddar to foreign cloth, no matter how inconvenient it may be to us. It is flimsy philosophy that teaches us to go to the cheapest market irrespective of what happens therethrough to our next-door neighbours. Free donations of fine wheat from Australia or America will be poison to us, if that meant a workless India with her soil growing weeds instead of golden grain. Similarly a free gift of cloth from Manchester would be too costly a bargain for India to accept. I repeat, therefore, that khaddar is cheap at any price so long as it serves to utilize the idle hours of the nation and there is nothing else immediately in view to occupy them as usefully.

Young India, 17-1-1929

413. THEN AND NOW

Some critics of the constructive resolution[1] passed by the Congress think that it is something new sprung by me upon a Congress that was eager for a vigorous, forward policy. In the first place I claim no originality for my resolution, for, it closely follows the presidential address. In the second, it is identical with the now much lauded programme of 1920-21,[2] with certain desirable additions. In 1921, as now, we had prohibition with picketing, we had khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth with the burning demonstrations and we had untouchability campaign and Hindu-Muslim unity. The present programme adds the amelioration of the status of women and removal of kindred social abuses. It also adds village reconstruction and organization of city labour—surely, items that must find place in any constructive programme for the attainment of swaraj.

Is there not excitement enough in the programme, if Congressmen are serious about it? Picketing of liquor shops, foreign cloth shops and collection and burning of foreign cloth are exciting enough for any worker and are enough to evoke all the resourcefulness that the best workers may be capable of.

What, indeed, we have not in my resolution of the programme of 1920-21 is the boycott of legislatures, law-courts and educational institutions and titles. Nothing would please me better than to find these institutions that sustain the Government abandoned by the nation or at least Congressmen. I know that then we should have swaraj and, what is perhaps more, we should have less corruption in the Congress than we now have. But that time is not yet. Congressmen assist legislatures, law-courts and schools as much as any other, and perhaps during this year when the Congress works for the attainment of a constitution in accordance with the Nehru Report, it must function through the legislatures. In any event one year is not too much even for the most impatient independencewallah to organize for the quadruple boycott, assuming, of course, that the Nehru Report status is not attained during the twelve months. And if we are serious about complete severance of British connection, we shall, when the year

[1] *Vide* pp. 311-4.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 576-8.

is over, certainly cease to patronize the very institutions that are the emblems of British power and instruments for holding us under subjection.

And is the present programme quite so tame as it is made to appear? Was the picketing of liquor traps a tame affair? Let Dr. Kanuga and his band of volunteers who were assaulted by angry liquor dealers and their myrmidons answer. Let the hundreds of the prisoners in Assam answer who were mercilessly clapped into the Assam jails because they had the audacity to picket opium dens. Was the burning of foreign cloth a tame affair? Let Sarojini Devi who gave her very beautiful costly foreign scarf and many girls who gave up their rich foreign silks and other fineries they had learnt to treasure answer. There is nothing to prevent Congressmen now from picketing liquor traps or opium dens or from collecting and burning foreign cloth. Apart from the great social and economic value of these two very powerful items they have a political value of the very first order. If we achieve boycott of foreign cloth we remove from Britain's path the greatest incentive to greed, and if we stop the liquor and drug revenue, we force the rulers to reduce the ever-growing military expenditure. These two things so easy to accomplish, so well suited to employ the energy of a vast mass of people, I hold, will go a long way towards the fulfilment of the national purpose, if we can but accomplish them.

I claim that the programme is so catholic as to satisfy all tastes and to occupy the whole nation. If we are many workers, we can take up all the items at once, if we are few, we may take up one item at a time.

There is, I admit, one important condition necessary to make the programme palatable, and that is, a living belief in non-violence for the establishment of swaraj or Dominion Status or Independence, whichever the name we may give to our object. It is not difficult to think out a programme that would immediately precipitate violence. That however is beyond my ken or capacity.

Young India, 17-1-1929

414. *NOTES*

Reported Threat

It is reported that the Government propose to take legal proceedings against those who strive for complete independence carrying severance of British connection with it. It has further been suggested that organizations working for complete independence should be suppressed. I am not aware of any law enabling the Government to punish the active advocacy of independence. I wish the Government would take steps against the promoters of independence. It will clear the political atmosphere and show what the Government mean by Dominion Status. If it does not carry with it the power to sever connection with the British, it is a form of bondage be it ever so mild. An India, impatient of servitude and waiting to come to her own, will never be content with any form of bondage. No national assembly can possibly be permitted to be the custodian of national honour, if it does not strive for the best that the nation is entitled to. Any move on the part of the Government, therefore, against the propaganda of independence *cum* severance of British connection will precipitate the issue and undoubtedly give added strength to the severance movement. As I have already remarked, we must have the power to sever the connection even though we may never exercise that power. Whether we should and would exercise that power or not will depend wholly upon how British rulers behave towards us during these critical times. The school of severance must have the fullest liberty to grow and carry on its propaganda unhampered by any Governmental act, direct or indirect, open or secret. The only honourable way to prevent the school from growing is to make the connection worthwhile for us to retain. That can only be when the imperialistic spirit, the spirit of exploitation is killed and partnership on absolutely equal terms offered in the place of present bondage.

Gujarat Vidyapith[1]

This National Institution held its seventh convocation on 11th instant. Acharya Ramadeva delivered the convocation speech in the place of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who could not attend, but

[1] An article on this subject appeared in *Navajivan*, 20-1-1929.

who sent his blessings and a spirited message reminding the graduates that their education had only just begun. Acharya Ramadeva's was an impassioned address to show that the British educational system was devised to manufacture clerks, not statesmen, to make students 'black Englishmen' according to Macaulay, but not better Indians. He had no difficulty in showing that the foreign method, grafted by foreigners on the Indian, had resulted in terrible increase of illiteracy.

The Registrar's report which was a businesslike document showed that the Vidyapith was still doing pruning work and strengthening its foundation. Nevertheless it was able to show a literary output of no mean order in the shape of text books and research work done by the Puratatva Mandir with whose activity were identified scholars like Muni Jinvijayaji and Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi and Pandit Sukhlalji. The Vidyapith hopes inside of three months to furnish the Gujaratis with an authorized spelling dictionary, a want that is being increasingly felt. Great stress is being laid upon manual training which is superstitiously believed to interfere with the development of the intellect.

The occasion was utilized by the graduates to present Acharya Kripalani with the khadi purse which the students had intended to collect and present to their popular Principal when he retired last year. The purse contained over Rs. 6,000. Acharya Kripalani in thanking the students for their purse reiterated his promise to visit Gujarat from time to time and by citing his experience of the solid work being done by the old students among untouchables and Raniparaj showed that the Vidyapith had more than justified its existence. Whilst he was proud of all the menial labour that these workers were doing with zest, he warned them against neglecting brain work after leaving college. He added that the marvellous work done by the Sardar of Bardoli could not have been done, if he had not combined great brain capacity with rare courage and equally rare powers of endurance.

The 'old boys' had their own function over which Sjt. Kishorelal Mashruwala presided. His thoughtful address reminded the students of their serious responsibility and enjoined upon them the necessity of becoming true soldiers of swaraj.

I must not omit to notice the work being done by the students among the untouchables in the shape of night schools in the villages round Ahmedabad. Through these night schools they are dealing with social evils, the drink curse and giving medical relief. All honour to the boys who are thus patiently building brick by brick the swaraj structure.

LALAJI MEMORIAL AND SIND

Sjt. Jairamdas and other Sind friends pressed me whilst I was in Calcutta to go to Sind for the Lalaji Memorial collection. I could not resist the temptation. Though being pledged to tour for khadi I could not go to many places for this collection, I would not refuse the sporting offer from Sind. The collections for the Lalaji Memorial are creeping in, not pouring as they should have. It would be a shame if the five lacs are not forthcoming within a reasonable time. The donors have no excuse now for delaying, as they know exactly the purpose to which the collections are to be devoted. I am hoping therefore that the response from Sind will be generous enough to serve as guide to the other provinces.

Nor must Sind forget khadi. My visit to Sind has, I know, been long overdue. Khadi lovers have been inviting me ever since my release from Yeravda to visit Sind for khadi propaganda and collections. Let them now prepare their offering for *Daridranarayana*. And I expect the silk-bedecked Sindhi ladies to think of their poor sisters as also to render me an account of their connection with the evil custom of *deti-leti*. Many of them promised to exert themselves to do away with it root and branch. I hope that they will prove as good as their word.

Young India, 17-1-1929

415. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

January 17, 1929

MIRABEHN
CARE KHADI BHANDAR
MUZAFFARPUR

NO ANXIETY. HOT WATER BOTTLE ABDOMEN. MAY TAKE FOUR OUNCES BOILING RICE WATER PREPARED FROM HALF OUNCE UNBOILED RICE DAILY. SUN BATH ADVISABLE. REPORT DAILY PROGRESS. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5332. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9387

416. *LETTER TO ZAFAR-UL-MULK*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have kept the letter you left in Calcutta all this time. I was sorry indeed that I was silent when you came. I had not thought of the silence when I asked you to come again. I was none the less sorry than you were that we could not talk. Do please write to me whatever you want to say and if you get the time do come and pass a few days when I am at the Ashram. At the present moment I am preparing to go to Sind.

Yours sincerely,

ZAFAR-UL-MULK, ESQ.
LUCKNOW

From a microfilm: S.N. 14986

417. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter[1]. About the tour in the U.P. I have written to you already.[2] I write this about Kripalani. Jamnalalji tells me that you want Kripalani to take up organization under you, that is to say, to take up the work that Sitla Sahai was doing and add to it as much as he can. Your letter under reply does not quite give me that impression. Kripalani himself, I understand, has written to you already, because on the strength of Jamnalalji's letter, I had begun to talk to him before receipt of your letter and so had Shankerlal. You will now write to me therefore what you exactly intend in this matter.

If I do not tour in the U.P. in the near future and if you can come over to Sabarmati even for a day or two, we can discuss many things.

[1] Dated January 12, 1929 (S.N. 15277)
[2] *Vide* p. 337.

I utterly distrust doctors' reports about Kamala whether they are favourable or unfavourable. I wish you and Father and Kamala will make up your minds for her to take the natural treatment, that means Kuhne's bath and sun baths. Sun baths are now in vogue even amongst the medical profession and very extraordinary results are claimed for them.

You will telegraph if necessary about Kripalani.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15276

418. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have both your letters[1]. No apology whatsoever is necessary for taking me to Calcutta. Of course I had never expected to have to take such an active part in the deliberations as circumstances forced me to take. But it was as well. I was quite happy over it and it gave me an insight into the present working of the Congress organization which I certainly did not possess. And after all, we have to battle both within and without.

The big Darbhanga case is a very heavy responsibility and it must take up a great deal of your time which would otherwise have been available for the constructive programme. Nevertheless, I am glad you have this case and if it relieves you of all financial burdens, it will be possible for you then to give much more time to public work and that without a load of anxiety behind you.

Now as to the second letter. If I am to finish the European programme, I may not put off the visit till May and I dare not keep the many friends who have invited me in a state of suspense up to the very time of my sailing. And if I go at all I have to go to Germany, Austria, Russia, possibly Poland, France, England and I would like to add Italy, Turkey and Egypt though I have no invitations as yet from the last three places. There are also pressing invitations from America to include America if I go to Europe. All these things I must settle now or not at all. And your letter leads me to think that I must not think of

[1] Dated January 12, 1929 (S.N. 15279) and January 14, 1929 (S.N. 15280)

undertaking the European tour this year at all. The next will take care of itself. Subject therefore to your reply, I propose to announce cancellation of the tour and make no promise for next year.

I have been asked to draw up a scheme for boycott of foreign cloth.[1] I hope to do so in a day or two, unless I can be ready to send it even with this letter.

About the Lalaji Memorial Fund I personally do not think it is necessary for you to sign the local appeal. Let the local people make vigorous collections if they will. Purushottamdas Tandon is now taking charge of the affairs of the Society and that ought to inspire confidence.

If I do not go to Europe, I would gladly include the U.P. in my tour programme, when I would like you to join me at least in some places.

It is quite like Jawahar that he should give up smoking, a fine preparation to face Hailey[2]. I do not know that Hailey will lay his hands upon Jawahar quite so easily as you think.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15281

419. LETTER TO NIRANJAN SINGH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Your idea commends itself to me and you are at liberty to translate my other works. I hope that all your translations will be full and not of parts of the books you may translate. I am obliged to write this because some translators have taken such liberty with my writings and that too in a manner so as to give almost different meaning to them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NIRANJAN SINGH
PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY
KHALSA COLLEGE
AMRITSAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15289

[1] *Vide* pp. 388-9.
[2] Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Governor of U.P.

420. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR MR. ANSARI,

I have your letter. I hope you have now got rid of your influenza. It was a marvel to me how some of us could get through the terrific strain of the work in Calcutta without coming to grief. I often exclaimed to myself, 'God is great'!

What you tell me about the Muslim Conference[1] in Delhi makes distressful reading. We have to live it down. And if we will but keep our heads cool, retain our patience in spite of irritation and not swerve from what we may consider to be the true path, I know that all will be well in the end.

I was able to see Dr. Zakir[2] when I passed through Delhi. He was with me the whole time. I agree with you that a bulk of the collections of the Ajmal Fund should be transferred to the Jamia so as to relieve Dr. Zakir of anxiety at least to a certain extent. I shall be writing to Jamnalalji or perhaps he will be coming here. I do not leave for Sind before the 31st instant and I have asked Jamnalalji before he goes to Madras to come to Sabarmati even if it is for a day. He may be here any time this week. If he does not come, I shall write to him.

I hope that you are still working over the Hindu-Muslim question.

I note what you say about the Lalaji's Society and I agree with you entirely that, if there are members in it with a communal bias, it should be purged of that then. I shall be writing to the Secretary as also to Purushottamdas Tandon.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15287

[1] Presumably the Muslim All-Parties Conference held under the presidentship of the Aga Khan, on December 31, 1928 and January 1, 1929

[2] Dr. Zakir Husain (1897-1969), third President of India

421. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR LALA JAGANNATH,

This is what Dr. Ansari writes in his letter[1] to me signifying his assent to the notice about the Memorial which I sent to him[2] and which referred to the allocation of the Fund for the Society. I would like you to put Dr. Ansari at ease altogether on this score. Please show this letter to Purushottamdas Tandon and it will be better perhaps for him to write to Dr. Ansari. If there is any member whom you think Dr. Ansari has in view, he should also write.

The Sind programme, of which I wrote to you the other day, stands and I leave here on the 31st instant.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: Extract from Dr. Ansari's letter

From a photostat: S.N. 15290

422. LETTER TO MRS. GIDWANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

I have your letter. Why do you write to me in English? Surely you know Hindi well. You know Gujarati also. But if you could not write in Gujarati or in Hindi, you might have written even in Sindhi and I would have got someone to decipher it for me. After all Sindhi is written in the Persian script. However, you will have to render an account of these things when I come to Karachi.

Of course, I should like to be with you whilst I am in Karachi. But I shan't go to Sind as a free agent. I shall be in

[1] Dated January 10, 1929, which read: "I have heard from some very reliable workers in the Punjab that some of the members in charge of the Servants of the People Society have shown a distinct bias towards communalism. I hope this taint would be soon removed from a body which is primarily intended to serve the people and the country at large."

[2] *Vide* p. 321.

the custody of the Reception Committee of each place. So you must manage the Reception Committee in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. GIDWANI
6 QUEENS ROAD, KARACHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15291

423. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

What is the truth about Mukerjee's claim[1] about the tent? I enquired of Rengaswami and he thinks that his claim is well made. If it is so, should not the Reception Committee make amends for its inability to carry out the contract?

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1
DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15292

424. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A.
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

With reference to the matters referred to me for opinion regarding the constitution of the A.I.S.A., I am of opinion that no one is entitled to be enlisted as voter for the election of members of the Council who has not been a paid-up member of the 'A'

[1] A. N. Mukerjee, a tent manufacturer, had referred in his letter dated December 14, 1928 to an agreement dated July 7, 1926 signed between himself and the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, A. Rengaswami Iyengar (S.N. 13798).

class for full two years at the time of the preparation of the voters' list and, secondly, no one can be nominated as candidate for election who is not at the date of such nomination a fully-paid member of the 'A' class.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15293

425. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 17, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I had your telegram also about your daughter. I did not quite understand the significance of one sari. Therefore I sent you nothing. I read the telegram to either Kripalani or Choithram whoever was by me and he also could not understand it and could not believe that you could have done with one sari only. And now I see that you have not. Why was the expense of Rs. 700 incurred? The thing is finished, but I would like to know.

With reference to yourself, you may make your own choice either to remain there whilst I am in Sind or come here as soon as you are free, in which case you will be with me for about a week. This letter will be in your hands before the 20th instant. Supposing that you are relieved on the 20th and you leave immediately, you will be able to reach Sabarmati on the 21st and from the 21st to the 30th you will be in the Ashram during my presence. 31st does not count because I have to leave Sabarmati on the morning.

Of course, I shall give you a room all to yourself. I quite recognize that you will want a separate room for yourself.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

SJT. N. R. MALKANI
CENTRAL FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE, HYDERABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 891

426. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January [*18*,][1] *1929*

CHI. MIRA,

I return the charts prepared by you. They are quite all right. I have made two corrections which you will note. And I see no harm in the reference to swaraj. With more figures graphically given, the charts can be made to be more telling. I hope the figures about the daily income for various countries are accurate. In all your charts you will insist upon absolute accuracy and as few words as possible.

I don't think that it is necessary to publish them in English also in Bihar. English may be necessary for some in the South, but never in the North. However, you will decide in consultation with the local people.

I sent you a wire[2] in reply to yours though I had written to you already that I was not leaving till 31st instant and that the detailed programme would be sent to you later.

You should shake off the cold by vigorous walking. And why need you wait for milk? Prepare hot water and drink it with or without lemon, and you will get temporary warmth. The rest you get by walking even if it be for 15 minutes.

This was dictated last night. Now I have your wire about your illness. Never mind. You will soon be well. I have wired full instructions yesterday.[3] You will have two cards weekly about my health and a wire if I am ill.

God be with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5333. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9388

[1] The letter carries the date January 17, 1929. From the last paragraph, however, it is evident that it was concluded the following day.

[2] *Vide* p. 352.

[3] *Vide* p. 358.

427. LETTER TO HAROLD F. BING

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 18, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter, but I am able to reach it only today. I see that the date you have given me for my message[1] to reach you is the 15th instant, and I am dictating this on the 18th. I am therefore writing to express to you my regret that I was unable to send you the message.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD F. BING, ESQ.
ORGANIZING SECRETARY
THE BRITISH FEDERATION OF YOUTH
LONDON W.C. I.

From a photostat: S.N. 14988

428. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 18, 1929

I have been receiving your letters regularly. But I have not hitherto written to you as I was waiting for your reaching New York before I commenced writing. This is to tell you that the preparations are now being made to print your scientific handbook or whatever it should be called. I have not fixed upon the name by which it will be called. I am ashamed to confess to you that I have not yet finished reading the book. But the publication has been decided upon and as it has been decided upon, I am trying to finish reading it quickly.

I am now again trying my milkless experiment, confining myself to almond milk, tomatoes, some other vegetable and bread that has become the principal diet. You will therefore send me all the latest information about diet.

Mirabehn is in Bihar organizing self-carding in the Bihar villages.

[1] For a special issue of *Youth* devoted to the subject of Indian youth and Indian problems (S.N. 15085)

We have at the Mandir at the present moment many European guests. Two Danish sisters have been here for some days now and three friends came today, two men and one woman. Common kitchen is making steady progress.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD B. GREGG, ESQ.
40 OLD ORCHARD ROAD
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 15143

429. LETTER TO FRANCISCA AND FREDERIC STANDENATH[1]

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 18, 1929

I have your letters and I know from your letters to others also how you feel the separation from the Ashram. I want you however to compose yourselves and go on steadily with your mission.

I am quite well even after the Calcutta strain and I am now going on with my experiment in milkless diet confining myself to almond milk, tomatoes, another vegetable and bread. Up to now there has been no difficulty.

Mirabehn is doing charkha work in Bihar. The others are getting on well. At present we have many European guests in the Ashram. I must not try to write more. I am afraid that, owing to the new developments at the Congress, I may not be able to visit Europe this year. I shall know more definitely next week.

Yours sincerely,

SAVITRI[2]
FREDERIC STANDENATH

From a photostat: S.N. 15144

[1] In reply to a number of letters written by Mr. and Mrs. Standenath during their return journey to Europe

[2] Name given to Francisca by Gandhiji; Frederic Standenath was called Satyavan by him.

430. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 18, 1929

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your note. I await your promised letter. But I still more eagerly await your promised visit.

I have the invitation, but I am afraid I won't be able to attend.

Mahadev is in Bardoli, helping Vallabhbhai about the Inquiry[1].

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
THE CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE
THE SULTAN MANSION, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S. N. 15285

431. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

January 19, 1929

MIRABAI
CARE KHADIBHANDAR
MUZAFFARPUR

YOUR WIRE. SUBJECT RAJENDRABABU'S ADVICE SUGGEST TRANSFER NEAREST WARM PLACE. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5334. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9389

[1] About the assessment of land revenue in the Bardoli taluk; *vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 82-5

432. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 19, 1929

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. I am forwarding it to Mathuradas. I want you to talk to him and you may go as soon as you are disengaged. On no account will you leave abruptly. Mathuradas will give you what you need. You ought not to have kept this thing from me for such a long time. I expect you to return as early as you can. And don't spend more than is absolutely necessary.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKARAN
EVERGREEN, MATHERAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 14985

433. LETTER TO DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

Correspondents from Travancore continue to write to me about the use by the so-called untouchables of roads surrounding the Suchindram temple. I was led to expect when I was in Travancore[1] that the roads would be thrown open to them within a short time. Considerable time has now elapsed and nothing apparently has been done. May I know whether there is any likelihood of these roads being thrown open to the so-called untouchables in the near future?

Yours sincerely,

THE DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 15296

[1] In October, 1927; *vide* Vol. XXXV.

434. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, January 19, 1929

BHAI MAMA,

I got your letter and that of Maneklal Gandhi. I approve of Jaishukhlal Mehta's name. We can add Lakshmidas's. But it would be good if Jaishukhlal joins. I cannot think of any other name.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3823

435. "PRAN JAAYI ARU VACHAN NA JAAYI"[1]

Tulsidas has put this vow in Ramachandra's mouth. Indian tradition abounds in examples where one's pledge is held as dear as one's life. I hope the students of Gujarat College will add another example by keeping their pledge. The conditions on which the Principal would permit them to study do not enhance his prestige nor do they ennoble the students if they agree to them. In this there is an attempt to get a confession from the students as if they had committed an error instead of the Principal admitting his own. The students deserve congratulations on not agreeing to such conditions. It was their dharma not to agree to conditions. They will be considered truly educated if they keep their pledge till the end. And they will be regarded as having made a great contribution towards taking the country forward. One need not doubt that such action by the students will have far-reaching consequences. The students' victory does not consist in their returning to the college somehow, but in observing their pledge till their last breath. If they thus learn the first lesson of honouring their pledge, they will in future be able to serve the country well, because they will have greater self-confidence. Moreover, to one who has cultivated self-confidence, everything else in this world becomes easy.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-1-1929

[1] "One's life one may give up but not one's pledge."

436. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[*January 20, 1929*][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. It is good that you left Wardha. You have not disobeyed. Come here whenever you feel like doing so. Keep yourself in good health and keep your mind free from worry. My programme of leaving for Sind on the 31st stands.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 504. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

437. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 20, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

No news from you today by wire. These mishaps will happen. I wired[2] you yesterday advising removal to a warmer place. I wired[3] too to Rajendrababu suggesting that, if he thought it necessary, you should return to the Ashram for the time being. I know that you are quite safe. You won't be nervous over the illness. It is a mild attack of dysentery. Milk and fruit juices is the thing. But if the doctor prohibits fruit juices, it does not matter for the time being. You must keep warm and have an abdominal bandage if necessary.

There is no wire today as it is Sunday. I suppose tomorrow I expect a wire without fail.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am well. No increase in weight. This week, a decrease of 1 lb. But it is nothing.

From the original: C.W. 5335. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9390

[1] From the postmark

[2] *Vide* p. 369.

[3] This telegram is not traceable.

438. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 20, 1929

MY DEAR MARIA,

I was delighted to receive your letter after such a long absence. It is not at all certain that I have launched on active politics. I do not know what part I have to play during the year. The next month will perhaps decide.

You are needlessly anxious about my dietetic experiment. Believe me that experiment too is under God's guidance as I understand it.

You are quite right about the time-limit. Let us see what is in store for us at the end of the year.

I am sorry that Esther is not yet quite restored. I knew about the operation for her appendicitis. Menon was expected to do no less than what he has been doing. However, I am glad that he has come up to the expectation.

You have surmised well about the European visit. In 10 days I shall know definitely whether I am to go to Europe or not. But you are quite right. It would be only as a representative of free India that I should go to Europe. But here too God's will be done.

The Danish sisters are here. They have been here for the last 4 or 5 days. They are passing a week here at the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MARIE PETERSEN
NATIONAL CHRISTIAN GIRLS' SCHOOL
PORTO NOVO (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 15141

439. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 20, 1929

DEAR PROFULLABABU,

I have your letter[1]. I am sorry to know that you were ill. I am not yet sure what part I shall have to play during this year in connection with the Congress programme. I am supposed to advise the Working Committee in connection with the foreign cloth boycott and I am preparing a scheme[2]. I am in correspondence with Pandit Motilalji. If I have to do anything, naturally I expect you to play your part in it. I know that you will realize the expectations I have of you.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PROFULLA GHOSH
ABHOY ASHRAM, COMILLA

From a photostat: S.N. 15283

440. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 20, 1929

DEAR DR. SATYAPAL,

I have your letter. Do tell me all you want to.

I wish that I could tour in the Punjab. But my programme for the year is still very uncertain. I am in correspondence with Pandit Motilalji. I hope I shall be able to decide before the end of this month.

The first thing you should tackle is to put the Congress organization in order.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SATYAPAL
42 NISBET ROAD, LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15299

[1] The addressee wanted to know the definite programme of work for 1929 and 1930 (S.N. 15282).

[2] *Vide* pp. 388-9.

441. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 20, 1929

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter No. 1519, dated 18h January, you may have 30th September as the date up to which candidates for election should have paid up their subscriptions. And the candidate for election being a member only of one month's duration, in my opinion, does not matter for the simple reason that one would expect the voters to make the best selection out of candidates nominated.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15300

442. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 20, 1929

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter No. 1517, dated 18th January, enclosing Satisbabu's letter, I like Satisbabu's suggestion. There are, however, practical difficulties in the way of holding an exhibition during the Congress Week. Unless the Congress wants such an exhibition, we may not set up an exhibition in the teeth of Congress opposition. What, however, we can do is to hold an independent all-India exhibition every year. And if we can get sufficient workers for the purpose, it can become a striking demonstration. It can draw large crowds and it can be a means of selling off all the surplus stock of khadi without any difficulty. It can become a dignified and educative effort. Let Satisbabu

consider this suggestion. I may however state that, so far as this year's Congress is concerned, I am already in touch with the Congress Committee in the Punjab regarding the holding of the exhibition.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15301

443. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

January 21, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your cheering wire today. I hope now progress will be steady. You will not hesitate to return if it becomes necessary. At the same time I do not want you to give in unless the giving in is wisdom.

Mahadev has returned. He will have to go back in a few days. One is thankful for small mercies.

The loss of weight reported yesterday has no significance. Any variation in food tells. But there is no loss of vitality. Weight in this experiment need not be a factor.

Whenever you feel like taking a change in those parts, you could go to Shantiniketan. There are Ambalal's sugar works near Sewan. Rajendrababu knows them. You will be quite welcome there. Anasuyabehn mentioned them on Saturday.

We had five Europeans staying on Saturday. Now we have two Danish ladies. Two more coming on Tuesday. Surendra is off to Dholka.

Did I tell you we had thieves here the other day. They took away pots from my bathroom.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5336. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9391

444. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[January 22, 1929][1]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. There is no need to order from England the equipment for bee-keeping.

I got the books on chromopathy which you sent. They will serve my purpose. If I decide to go to Rangoon after the 15th February, will any of your ships be available? If I can reach Rangoon from Bombay in six days, it would do for me and I would like the voyage too. I will not take another ship if I can sail by yours. I see that your ships do not sail on fixed dates.

Grandmother must be well now. Tell her that I think of her often.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4792. Courtesy: Shāntikumar Morarji

445. LETTER TO V. SURYANARAYANAMURTI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 22, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2]. You may decline to make any statement if you wish to, but you may not tell an untruth.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. SURYANARAYANAMURTI
TEACHER, MRS. A. V. COLLEGE, VIZAGAPATAM

From a photostat: S.N. 14880

[1] From the postmark

[2] The addressee had written: "A certain student in the Medical College poisoned and killed his wife. He is under arrest now. . . . A letter . . . instigating him to murder his wife was brought to me by an aunt of the accused to read it to her. After hearing the contents in it, she destroyed the letter. The police got scent of the letter and examined me in the affair. I told them all that I had read in the letter. Many of the big men now, being interested in the accused, insist upon my not speaking the truth in the court. Kindly . . . bless me with your advice in this, my most trying affair . . . " (S.N. 14879).

446. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 22, 1929

I have your letter. You will see from current *Young India* what I have done about the boycott of foreign cloth. You would do some such thing like that. I want you to throw yourself into that work.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM, TIRUCHENGODU, S. INDIA

From a photostat: S.N. 14892

447. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 22, 1929

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. The line at the end of your letter is alarming. I wish you, Hemprabhadevi and Tarini would heed Nature's warning. It is false economy to wear yourselves out there. Do go out of Sodepur and give yourselves complete rest. Come here if you can be happy and if the climate will agree or go to Chandranagore. It is a great pity that you cannot exchange with Abhoy Ashram. Why not simply send Tarini there? Of course, it is to be done naturally and spontaneously.

I shall await a sample flag from you, as also your opinion about Ram Binod's[1] case. I shall study the figures supplied by you for boarding.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1602

[1] An active political and khaddar worker of Bihar. There were allegations against him about misappropriation of the Congress funds.

448. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

SABARMATI,
January 22, 1929

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

It is from visitors that I get news about your health. I am writing this with a selfish motive. Bhai Balwantrai Mehta and others also say that the cultivators of Bhavnagar are poorer even than those in British India and in the other States. I have asked him to substantiate this statement. He wants your help for this and I think you can give it. If what he says is true, it should interest you also.

When you reply, please give me news about your health too. When are you likely to come here?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5979

449. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 22, 1929

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. I received the book you sent. Since I have been constantly travelling, I seem to have sent no acknowledgement. As the book is in the Italian language, I cannot understand it. How can I, therefore, express my views? If you wish, I can send you a letter of acknowledgement in English for him.

Are you keeping well now?

Blessings to both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6590

450. LETTER TO ANNAYYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The letter you mention cannot be managed through the Protector of Immigrants.[1] If you can spend some money on lawyers' fees, I can write to someone in Durban who might be able to do something. But if you have [any] friend or if you know any lawyer in Durban you should write to him directly.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ANNAYYA
FREE INDIA NO. 39869
OVERSEAS LINE, KIRKEE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14877

451. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1929

MY DEAR RAJAN[2],

I have your letter[3]. I have the book[4] also. I have not yet looked at it.

I must hasten to reply to your letter regarding the proposed visit to Europe. I must confess to you that Dr. Atkinson[5] did not

[1] The addressee, who owned a piece of land in Natal, had given a General Power of Attorney to Messrs Pather & Co., Durban. asking them to forward to him in India the proceeds, through the Protector of Indian Immigrants. But as they had done nothing in the matter the addressee wrote to Gandhiji seeking his help (S.N. 14876).

[2] A. A. Paul, Honorary General Secretary of the Federation of International Fellowships, Madras

[3] Dated January 18, 1929. The addressee informed Gandhiji about his election as a member of the Executive Committee of the Universal Religions Peace Conference and wanted to know his impression of Dr. Atkinson. The letter also said that Prof. P. A. Wadia was elected Vice-President of the conference. *Vide* the following item.

[4] *Attitudes Towards Other Religions* by Rev. Dr. D. J. Fleming

[5] Of the Universal Religions Peace Conference

create much impression upon me and, in any case, I do not think that you need go to Europe and the good it may do is problematical. The harm that must result from the misconception that is bound to arise will be a certainty. I am therefore decidedly of opinion that, irrespective of the impression left upon my mind by Dr. Atkinson's visit, an impression that may be totally unjustified, my opinion is that you should not go.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
'MAITRI', KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 14884

452. LETTER TO P. A. WADIA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI
January 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. Dr. Atkinson did not mention to me that I should join the Committee[2]. It was perhaps because I did not give him much encouragement. For I told him that I did not have much faith in conferences, [for] promoting real goodwill and brotherhood, something far more tangible than conferences was necessary. And I must say that, on the whole, Dr. Atkinson did not leave a good impression upon me.

Yours sincerely,

PROFESSOR P. A. WADIA
HORMUZD VILLA, MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 14888

[1] Dated January 21, 1928 (S.N. 14887)
[2] Central Committee of the Universal Religions Peace Conference for India

453. LETTER TO DR. INDARLAL KAPUR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You were quite correct in your surmise that the statements[1] issued by Dr. Ansari, Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla had my approval. I think that subscriptions given for Lalaji Memorial cannot be better used than by being handed over to his Society. Political Sufferers' Fund and the like should stand on their own merits.

Yours sincerely,

DR. INDARLAL KAPUR
WARBURTON, PUNJAB

From a photostat: S.N. 14890

454. LETTER TO DR. PARASHURAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1929

DEAR DR. PARASHURAM,

I am glad you have given me a full letter. I note your restrictions which I shall bear in mind. I shall make careful use of your important letter. It is a terrible business.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PARASHURAM
PUNJAB PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14894

[1] *Vide* pp. 95-7 and 319-20.

455. LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO B. DESHPANDE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 23, 1929

MY DEAR GANGADHARRAO,

Herewith two letters with copies of my reply. I wish you would not be guided by Rajaji in the matter of this tour, but take the responsibility upon your own shoulders and decide. If I am not taken at express speed, I should be able to go through the programme without the slightest difficulty as I imagine. But I do not know whether I can spare the time. You must therefore definitely say whether you want me and if so, for how long and when. Together with all other circumstances, I shall then be able to decide. I warn you against putting off the Karnatak tour indefinitely.

I still await your letter regarding Pundalik.[1] It is not right to keep me without information about his doings and his victory or otherwise.

How are you keeping in health?

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures 3

From a photostat: S.N. 14895

456. WHY NOT K. S. ASSOCIATION?

If we have graduates' associations, civil service associations and the like, why not Khadi Service Association or Khadi Sevak Sangha? This service, if it is to succeed, should certainly be the most numerous in the world if not even the most important. It is true that it will never bring the same remuneration as the other services which are only so-called but which are based more or less, perhaps more rather than less, upon exploitation. Khadi Service is a purely philanthropic agency and the servants are merely maintained on the principle that a labourer is worthy of his hire. But in Khadi Service there is a higher satisfaction than that of pecuniary reward. The satisfaction lies in the knowledge that the ser-

[1] *Vide* p. 325.

vant ministers to the needs of the neediest, the most helpless and the most numerous class of men in the country.

As this truth is being realized, khadi servants begin also to plan ways and means of consolidating their trust. Hence at the usual weekly meeting of the Khadi Service candidates who are undergoing training at the Udyoga Mandir, late Satyagraha Ashram, the question of forming a Khadi Service Association was seriously discussed and it was resolved to form such an association. To that end I invite all those who have received training at any of the institutions recognized by the All-India Spinners' Association to send to the Secretary, Udyoga Mandir, the following particulars: name in full, present address, age, whether married or single, children if any, where trained for Khadi Service, previous qualifications, present occupation, wages and such other information as may be useful for the proposed Association. An early opportunity will be taken to form a provisional body and frame a provisional constitution. The object of this body should be:

1. to promote contact and co-operation among the men and women belonging to the Service,
2. to encourage them to make researches in khadi work in all its branches,
3. to help the needy members,
4. to attract new members,
5. to hold periodical conferences with a view to compare notes and exchange experiences,
6. to devise methods of making khadi more popular from the Service standpoint.

These are only suggestions thrown out at random. The first step will be to publish a directory of names and addresses of such servants. The number of persons trained at the Ashram to date already comes up to 445. There is, no doubt, a large number trained by the other khadi organizations. It will not be therefore an unpretentious directory by any means. In sending names care, I hope, will be taken to send only those who are or were doing khadi work and have received adequate training and who have sought this service as volunteers, i.e., from the strictly philanthropic motive. The desire of the promoters of the idea is to make the proposed association an efficient organization of true servants. Writers will send their suggestions as to the condition of membership, objects, etc.

Young India, 24-1-1929

457. *DUTY OF RESISTANCE*

The strike of nearly seven hundred students of the Gujarat College which has now gone on for over 20 days is no longer a matter merely of local importance. A labour strike is bad enough, a students' strike is worse, whether it is justly declared or unjustly. It is worse because of the consequences it entails in the end and because of the status of the parties. Unlike labourers, students are educated and can have no material interest to serve by means of strikes, and unlike employers, heads of educational institutions have no interest in conflict with that of the students. Students moreover are supposed to be embodiments of discipline. A strike of students therefore produces far-reaching consequences and can only be justified in extraordinary circumstances.

But though occasions for students' strikes in well-ordered schools and colleges must be rare, it is not impossible to conceive such as to warrant strikes on their part. Thus for instance if a Principal running counter to public opinion refuses to recognize a day of universal rejoicing as a holiday which both parents and their school or college-going children may desire, students will be justified in declaring a strike for that day. Such occasions will be more frequent in India as the students grow more self-conscious and become more alive to a sense of their responsibility to the nation.

In the case of the Gujarat College, I cannot help saying that so far as I have been able to judge, the students have had ample reason for the strike. It is quite wrong to say, as has been said in some quarters, that the strike has been engineered by a few mischievous students. It is impossible for a handful of mischief-makers to hold together seven hundred boys for over a fortnight. As it is, there are responsible citizens advising and guiding the students. Chief among these is Sjt. Mavlankar, a pleader of experience and known for his wisdom and moderation. He has been in touch with the Principal and is firmly of opinion that the students are absolutely in the right.

The facts can be briefly told. The students absented themselves from College with the rest of the boys all over India on the Simon boycott day. The absence was no doubt unauthorized. The students were technically in the wrong. They should have at least asked for formal permission before they absented themselves. But boys are the same all the world over. One might as well hope

to restrain the winds as hope to curb the roused enthusiasm of students. Theirs was at best a youthful indiscretion. This was condoned by the Principal after a great deal of negotiation, the boys being permitted optionally to appear for their terminal examination on a fee of Rs. 3 each, it being understood that the majority would appear and that those who did not would not be in any way punished. The Principal, however, it is alleged, broke his pledge and put up notice making it compulsory for the boys to appear for the terminal examination upon payment of Rs. 3 each. This naturally incensed the boys. They felt: 'if the salt loseth its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?' They therefore struck work. The rest is simple. The strike continues and friends and critics alike certify to the great self-restraint and correct conduct of the boys. In my opinion, students of a college are in duty bound to resist such breach of honour by their Principal as is alleged against the Principal of the Gujarat College. It is impossible to tender to a teacher that unreserved respect to which he is entitled by reason of his honourable calling when he is found to be guilty of breach of honour.

If the students are resolute there can be but one end to the strike, viz., withdrawal of the offending notice and an absolute promise of immunity from any punishment to the students. Indeed the most proper thing would be for the Government to appoint another Principal for the College.

There is in the Government Colleges too much of espionage and persecution of boys holding pronounced political views or taking any part in political gatherings not liked by the Government. It is high time that this unwarranted interference was stopped. In a country groaning as India is under foreign rule, it is impossible to prevent students from taking part in movements for national freedom. All that can be done is to regulate their enthusiasm so as not to interfere with their studies. They may not become partisans taking sides with warring parties. But they have a right to be left free to hold and actively to advocate what political opinion they choose. The function of educational institutions is to impart education to the boys and girls who choose to join them and therethrough to help to mould their character, never to interfere with their political or other non-moral activities outside the school room.

The question therefore raised by the strike of the Ahmedabad students is of first-rate importance and they deserve the sympathy and support of other scholastic institutions and the public in general. Parents are as much concerned with the strike as school-

going boys and girls. For the Ahmedabad students have, I understand, acted throughout with the approval of their parents or guardians.

Young India, 24-1-1929

458. NOTES

Foreign Cloth and Khadi

The Working Committee of the Congress has passed a resolution asking me to frame a scheme for carrying out the Congress programme regarding boycott of foreign cloth through khadi. The scheme[1] as submitted by me to the Secretary is published elsewhere in this issue. I commend it to the careful attention of the reader and invite him to offer suggestions for its improvement. In my opinion boycott of foreign cloth is a comparatively easy thing to accomplish, if Congressmen would concentrate upon the effort with a will. In order to enable them to do so a living faith in khadi is an absolute necessity. If Congressmen still need conversion the scheme cannot be carried out. I warned the Congress delegates as earnestly as I could against passing the resolution if they had no faith in the programme. Notwithstanding the warning they passed the resolution without dissent and without protest. That presupposes faith in khadi. If they have it, the scheme is capable of being worked. Let it be thoroughly understood that it is not possible to accomplish the boycott through any other means. Let no one worry about the place of the indigenous mill-cloth in the boycott. This cloth has taken care of itself and will take care of itself. What we need to do is to clothe with khadi those whom we reach. If we speak with two voices, we shall fail in carrying out the boycott. We shall succeed only in inflating the prices of indigenous mill-cloth and in tempting unscrupulous mill-owners to commit frauds upon a gullible public.

Finally I draw the attention of all concerned to my note at the foot of the scheme. No progress in the prosecution of the Congress programme is possible unless the Congress house is put in order and becomes the living structure it was in 1921.

Young India, 24-1-1929

[1] *Vide* the following item.

459. *SCHEME FOR BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH THROUGH KHADI*

Congress organizations should call for volunteers to go from door to door in every town and village having a Congress Committee and collect foreign cloth in the possession of the householders and deliver or receive orders for khadi required by such householders.

2. All khadi should bear the stamp of the All-India Spinners' Association and prices should be distinctly marked on them.

3. Voluntary preachers should be called for to popularize the use of khadi and to advocate complete boycott of foreign cloth.

NOTE. Volunteers and preachers should know genuine from spurious khadi.

4. Foreign cloth collected should be publicly burnt wherever possible.

5. Foreign cloth dealers should be individually visited with a view to enlisting their help and inducing them to stop further purchase of foreign cloth and to cancel all cancellable orders.

6. Picketing foreign cloth shops may be undertaken wherever possible and where there is no danger of violence being committed by Congress pickets, the latter being reliable and seasoned volunteers.

7. All units should from day to day report to the Central Office details of work done in terms of the foregoing and the latter should circulate to the Press for publication a weekly digest of day-to-day progress.

8. Help and co-operation of all political and other organizations should be solicited in the campaign.

9. Help of patriotic ladies should be enlisted to prosecute the boycott campaign.

10. The All-India Spinners' Association should be asked to furnish the Central Office with a list of places where genuine khadi is available and to open stores where there is a demand for khadi.

11. A small committee called Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee should be formed and entrusted with an initial fund with power to collect more funds. The Committee should be under obligation to publish duly audited statements of income and expenditure every quarter.

12. The Committee proposed in paragraph 11 should publish and distribute broadcast leaflets showing the necessity and possibility of boycott giving full details as to the method of achieving it by individuals.

13. Resolutions should be moved in the provincial legislatures as well as the central calling upon their respective Governments to make all their cloth purchases in khadi irrespective of its so-called costliness. Resolutions should also be moved demanding a prohibitive duty on imports of foreign cloth.

NOTE. The foregoing scheme is based upon the assumption that the Congress Committees all over India will be immediately reorganized and that there will be handsome response to the call for membership and that there will be full co-operation on the part of all Congress Committees in the prosecution of the campaign of boycott of *foreign cloth through khadi*. It is suggested that if these conditions are fulfilled, it is possible to achieve this boycott during the year, at any rate to the extent of making a visible impression upon the imports of foreign cloth.

Young India, 24-1-1929

460. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

MY DEAR SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter. I am here till Wednesday. I could therefore see Krishnamurti either on Tuesday or on Wednesday. Thursday morning I leave for Karachi.

Have you any sailing during February from Calcutta or Madras, and if you have, how long does the voyage take from Madras to Rangoon or Calcutta to Rangoon? It may be difficult for me to spare 10 days though I should love it. Please tell me also what ports does your steamer touch[1] between Bombay and Rangoon and how long does it stay at those ports.

You ask me also whether you should enquire about B.I. sailings. Do you mean from Bombay to Rangoon? And if there are sailings from Bombay to Rangoon, is there a regular service

[1] The source has "make".

and, if there is, what is the duration and what is the fare from Bombay to Rangoon?

Blessings from[1]
BAPU

[PS.]

I am glad to know that Father's operation has been successful.[2]

From the original: C.W. 4793. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

461. LETTER TO G. V. GURJALE[3]

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would ask you to correspond with Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, (Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu) to whom I have forwarded your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1380

462. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your enquiry, it is difficult to say now whether I should be able to give a few days for Utkal tour when I go to Andhra. Where would they want me to go and how much time will they want?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13294

[1] & [2] These lines are in Gujarati.
[3] Later known as Bhikshu Nirmalanand

463. LETTER TO S. K. SARMA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and your book *Towards Swaraj*. If you are a reader of *Young India*, you must have noticed that *Young India* is not a reviewing paper in any sense of the term, and I have so little time to read the books that friends kindly send me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. K. SARMA
PLEADER, TEPPAKULAM, TRICHINOPOLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14897

464. LETTER TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

Here is the report about the closing of Nileshwar centre. Sjt. Chhotelal himself agrees that it should be closed.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 in 5 sheets

SJT. KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO
KODAILBAIL, MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14898

465. *LETTER TO VISHNU CHANDER AGARWAL*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which I am able to reach only now.

With reference to dramas, it is difficult to give a dogmatic opinion. All I can say is that under proper supervision, it can be made a vehicle for uplifting student life.

With reference to ahimsa, I can only suggest that the very points you have raised have been exhaustively dealt with in the pages of *Young India*.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VISHNU CHANDER AGARWAL
HEAD MASTER, PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL
P.O. SHAMLI
DISTRICT MUZAFFARNAGAR, U.P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14899

466. *LETTER TO N. V. THADANI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

MY DEAR THADANI,

I have your letter[1]. I shall certainly go through the preface as soon as I can and let you have my opinion.

You are quite right in surmising that in Hyderabad I shall have no time left to have a quiet chat with you, though of course I shall have a look at you and it might be possible to steal a few moments.

[1] Dated January 21, 1929; it read: ". . . I spoke to you some years ago at Delhi, after your great fast of twenty-one days [in 1924], about my idea of the *Mahabharata*, and you had said that you would give anything to be sure that it was a philosophical work and not a mere story . . . I am sending you a copy of the Preface, which will indicate the idea of the work; and if you feel interested I should feel happy in sending you a copy of the manuscript . . . " (S.N. 14885).

Yes, I was wondering when you were coming. But now I know the reason and I excuse you. The forgiveness will be doubly earned if your preface promises a discovery after my heart.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. V. THADANI
HIRABAD, HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 14886

467. LETTER TO K. S. KARANTH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The first case is not a question of *shuddhi* but of reclamation and, if the so-called converts have no sense of Christianity in them, they should be treated as Hindus.

As to your second question: If the girls look grown up, are intelligent enough to understand what they are doing and they cannot be kept long enough without danger of their being given to a life of shame, they should be married.

About the child widow: If a husband can be found who would marry her but who would postpone co-habitation till the girl reaches the proper age, I should see no harm.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. KARANTH
VASANTA OFFICE, MANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14896

468. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your telegram. After having written to you, I had almost reconciled myself to abandoning the proposed European tour and, now that you have reconsidered your decision, there is a disinclination on my part to undertake the tour. I feel that if we are to do anything next year,[1] as we ought to, I may not absent myself from India during the year, but should do whatever I can to assist to make the way clear for next year's battle. Having moved the constructive programme resolution[2], I almost feel [it] like running away if there is any work that I can do in the country. If I leave at the end of April, I do not expect to return before the middle of October. If then, that is, if I am to go through the long programme sketched by me in my previous letter[3], more especially if I am to throw in America. The more, therefore, I contemplate the European tour, the more disinclined I feel like facing it this year. Next year, of course, may be out of question. I am, therefore, just now on the horns of a dilemma.

I do not want to tax you any further in the matter and I know that I must now decide for myself. But if anything occurs to you, you will please let me know. I am now conferring with Vallabhbhai, Jamnalalji, Rajagopalachari and others and hope to decide finally in a few days.

A Danish friend[4], not knowing the inner working of the Congress, grows enthusiastic over our resolutions and says, "It is no use my going to Europe as a representative from an India in bondage, I should go next year as a representative of an India become free." I wish that we could all share this belief and make an adequate effort to realize it.

[1] The Congress was likely to organize a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation after December 31, 1929. *Vide* pp. 306-10.

[2] *Vide* pp. 311-4.

[3] *Vide* pp. 360-1.

[4] Anne Marie Petersen; *vide* p. 373.

Are you doing anything about the Hindu-Muslim question?

I am sending Jawahar a copy[1] of my tour programme in Sind for which I leave on the 31st instant.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15304

469. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 24, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

You will see my letter to Father about the European visit. I would like you to let me have your own opinion on it. It will help me in coming to a decision.

I have your telegram[2] about Kripalani. Jamnalalji and Shankerlal, more especially Jamnalalji, have set their hearts upon Kripalani. They have no faith in Sitla Sahai[3] being able to do much. They think that he has not been able to show himself to advantage during the three years he has been at work in U.P. I am therefore going to confer with Sitla Sahai and see what he has to say. But before I decide anything finally, I would like you to let me have your own view about Sitla Sahai.

Here is a copy of my Sind programme.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encl. 1

[PS.]

After writing this, your letter was received. I have now talked to Sitla Sahai. It is on the whole better for him to resign. As to his future programme I am going to confer with him to-night.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15305

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] Dated January 21, 1929, which read: "Your letter. Apparently some misapprehension. My idea Kripalani undertake thorough investigation, make recommendations for reorganization. Meanwhile status quo continuing. But am agreeable to any course you suggest."

[3] Secretary of the U.P. branch of All-India Spinners' Association

470. LETTER TO DUNCAN GREENLEES

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I am not sure where I should be in June; but if you do not mind coming to the Ashram in my absence, you will be welcome and we would try to give you some English classes. You may not know that whilst the climate here is not very trying in June, it is not so cool as Madanapalle. You may not know too that life at the Ashram is very simple. I enclose herewith a copy of the rules which all those who live at the Ashram, even for a brief period, are expected to follow during their stay.

Yours sincerely,

DUNCAN GREENLEES, ESQ.
THEOSOPHICAL HIGH SCHOOL
MADANAPALLE, S. INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 14993

471. LETTER TO ZAHID ALI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

MY DEAR ZAHID ALI,

I have your letter. Please tell me how many charkhas you have, whether they are in perfect working order, whether they have spindles. And give me also the size of the wheels and the kind of spindle-holders and a detailed specification. Tell me also the price required and I shall try to do what I can.

Yours sincerely,

ZAHID ALI, ESQ.
THE CHHOTANI SAW MILLS
SEWRI BUNDER, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14995

[1] Dated January 22, 1929; the addressee had asked Gandhiji whether there was any possibility of his being able to work as an English teacher in Sabarmati after June (S.N. 14992).

472. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] which I have kept by me for a long long time.

You certainly did not write your first letter in any wrong spirit.

I have now got a parcel of Quaker books which I suppose I owe to you.

I have not had the proposal referred to by you about the *Young India* literature.

Yours sincerely,

HORACE G. ALEXANDER
BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 15044

473. LETTER TO A. W. COHENTMAES

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2]. I should not have the slightest hesitation in acknowledging a mistake if I felt I have made one. I cannot recall the whole of the conversation I had with you. But from your description of it, I do gather that I was very brief, which I am inclined to become if I am to cope with all the work before me including the visitors, many of whom seem to think

[1] This letter, dated August 15, 1928, read: " . . . I hope the length of my first letter was not a burden to you. . . . From your reply I am a little afraid that my letter was written in a wrong spirit. . . . Mr. Andrews had been telling us that your publications, issued by Ganesan, have at present no central sale depot in England . . . if you approve, the Friends' Book Centre (Friends Quakers, as I think you know) might become such a depot. . . . I am sure we Quakers have much to learn from you. . . . Our new 'Friends House', including the Book Centre, is only three minutes' walk from the Indian Students' Hostel. . . . "

[2] Complaining that in the interview given to him Gandhiji did not receive him well and concluding "I did not meet the Mahatma I expected."

that they can study Indian problems by a flying visit. I remember to have told you that you could not study Indian problems or, for that matter, any problem in such a fashion. I would ask you therefore instead of expecting an acknowledgment of a mistake on my part to extend your pity towards one who does not know from day to day how he can accommodate visitors who come to him even without appointment and put serious questions.

Yours sincerely,

A. W. COHENTMAES
THE HAGUE, 140 ANTONIE
DAYCKSTRASS, HOLLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 15075

474. LETTER TO MRS. I. J. PITT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the printed leaflet[1] on mercy to animals. Therein you have gone much further than I should care to go.

So far as pariah dogs are concerned, I am quite at one with you. But I do not see I would be right in taming dogs and destroying those young ones which I do not want. That would be selfish. My definition of ahimsa admits of no selfishness. A selfish destruction may be dignified on other grounds but not on the ground of ahimsa.

I hope both you and Mr. Pitt are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. I. J. PITT
PENUKONDA, ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

From a microfilm: S.N. 15078

[1] Wherein it was argued that either dogs should be kept and fed properly or the unwanted young ones be destroyed at birth

475. LETTER TO A. A. SHAIKH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. We have so many demands for free copies of *Young India* that it is difficult to cope with all the applications. You as an Association should surely be able to subscribe to the paper if you appreciate it and you should know that *Young India* is not run for profits. And if there are and when profits are made, they are all used not for anybody's personal gain but for corporate public work.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. SHAIKH[1], ESQ.
BERLIN CHARLO
MOMMSENSTRASSE 41, GERMANY

From a photostat: S.N. 15124

476. LETTER TO KENNETH SAUNDERS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is a difficult job for me to promise to read any book. But if you care to send me your book[2], I shall only hope to get a few moments to go through it.

I am sending by registered book post two volumes of *Young India* and a copy of my autobiography.

Yours sincerely,

KENNETH SAUNDERS, ESQ.
HIGH ASCRIS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

From a photostat: S.N. 15126

[1] Honorary General Secretary, Indian Association of Central Europe

[2] On life in India. The addressee had asked Gandhiji if he would like to write a prefactory statement to it (S.N. 15125).

477. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

I have your letters, including the one you gave to the Danish sisters. They were here for over a week. They left only two days ago and they told me they enjoyed their stay at the Ashram. They had their meals at the common board at which over 175 men, women and children sit.

Maria has written me that you are still weak and have not completely recovered after your operation, but that you and Menon are due to return at the end of the year. I shall be glad to see you both and the children face to face.

Nothing is yet decided about my European visit this year. But I am hesitating especially in view of the Congress resolution. Maria says I can best go to Europe as a messenger from a free India. My reason inclines towards that view, but I am waiting on God for light.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. ESTHER MENON
TAARCAK, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 15130

478. *LETTER TO W. LUTOSTAWSKI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. Though I know Mr. Dhangopal Mukerjee's name by correspondence, I have never had the pleasure of meeting him personally whether in India or elsewhere. Nor do I pass my time in contemplation as distinguished from active work. You have rightly guessed that my active work is my contemplation.

[1] In which, *inter alia*, the addressee had written: "Now I am reading in a French monthly an article by Dhangopal Mukerjee 'A Visit to Gandhi'. . . . He pretends that you have taken a bath with him in the Ganges near Benares and that you said good actions are useless. He pretends you live in contemplation while I know from your own writings you are leading an active life . . . " (S.N. 15131).

I thank you for your anxiety about my health. But there is nothing radically wrong with it. I am not ultra strong nor am I ultra weak.

Do please send your book on Pre-existence and Reincarnation. *Current Thought* ceased publication many months ago.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. W. LUTOSTAWSKI
JAGIELLONSKA, 7M. 2
WILNO, POLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 15132

479. LETTER TO MURIEL LESTER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

MY DEAR MURIEL,

I have your letters. I see your work is daily prospering. May it be a complete blessing to all who come under its influence.

Nothing is yet decided about my European visit this year. You shall know about the decision in due course.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MURIEL LESTER
BOW, E. 3, LONDON

From a photostat: S.N. 15147

480. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

I have your communications regularly. I am between the devil and the deep sea. Whether to undertake the European tour or not is the question. My own unaided reason tells me: 'Don't go.' I do not know what my heart tells. Miss Petersen writes to me in effect, hearing conflicting news about the intended tour, "What can be the use of your going to Europe as a messenger from India in bondage? You will deliver your message far more truly after India has become free", as she believes, it will be next year, because of the Congress resolution. My fate however will have been decided before this letter is in your hands. I

am simply sharing with you the conflicting emotions that are arising in my breast. I incline to Miss Petersen's view.

I am glad you are at least able to see what I had already seen about the Macmillan's business.[1] However you are in America, you will see them face to face and I shall be satisfied with what you arrange and only let the Company, and all who may care to, understand that I have no desire to make any profits even for my public or philanthropic activities. They are all more than financed by God through other channels. Only I did not want to become pedantic and tell Mr. Holmes that I do not want to have any dealings with publishers on a financial basis.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
1172 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 15148

481. LETTER TO J. D. JENKINS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2]. I have not seen the full text of Pandit Motilal Nehru's reply in the Assembly and I think that the inquiry should be addressed to the Pandit himself and not to me. But I can give you my own opinion upon the question for whatever it may be worth. In any constitution that I could endorse, I should certainly be against the confiscation of the legitimate rights of any community. I would however put stress upon the word 'legitimate'. There are many privileges enjoyed by those who belong to the ruling race which privileges have not been legitimately earned. If therefore I had my way, I should most decidedly examine every such privilege and those which are discovered not to have been legitimately obtained should be taken away.

Yours sincerely,

J. D. JENKINS, ESQ.
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15149

[1] Regarding publication of *An Autobiography* in America; *vide* p. 178.

[2] Dated January 21, 1929; it read: ". . . Pandit Nehru was supporting a measure in the Assembly which advocates, in the opinion of many, the unqualified confiscation of British property. . . ."

482. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter and the programme. I shall hope to carry out the programme. Manilal left this morning.

Kikibehn[1] has written to me asking me to stay with her in Karachi. I should be delighted to do so. But I am telling her that I shall have to go by what the Reception Committee arranges. You will now do whatever is necessary from the tour point of view. Kripalani is insisting that I should stay with Kikibehn and he will be writing to you also. If it is a matter of no consequence where I stay, of course I should love to stay with her. Gangabehn also wrote to me and I referred her to the Reception Committee.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15311

483. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 25, 1929

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE,

I have your letter. I feel guilty about not having said anything yet in *Young India* about the work you are doing. I am now transferring your letter to the *Young India* file and hope to deal with it in the next issue[2].

If on reading your letter carefully I find anything to suggest you may expect another letter from me.

Kripalani is here just now.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JUGALKISHORE
PRINCIPAL
PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 15313

[1] Sister of J. B. Kripalani
[2] *Vide* pp. 420-1.

484. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 26, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. It is somewhat surprising. I thought you wanted me not before the beginning of April. All my plans are therefore being made so as to come to Andhra in April. March 30th and 31st I am bound to give to Kathiawar. My present plan therefore is to go to Burma about the end of February, return to Kathiawar and then come to Andhra in the beginning of April. I hope to give one month to Andhra. Isn't that enough for you? Isn't that what was agreed upon?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a photostat: S.N. 15308

485. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 26, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have had a chat with Sitla Sahai, and both of us have come to the conclusion that, all things considered, it is best for him to resign and that he should, for the time being, be in the Ashram with his wife. During that time he will master all the technique of khadi and take part in all such other activities of the Ashram as may be necessary. I want him also during this time of preparation and probation[2] to understand my method of work.

I agree with you that he is a valuable worker and therefore should be as efficient as possible. Immediately after my departure

[1] In which the addressee had pleaded: "Anyhow, please do not postpone your visit to Andhra. Your March is ours already and we want half of your April too" (S.N. 15307).

[2] For the campaign of non-violent non-co-operation envisaged by the Calcutta Congress; *vide* pp. 307-10.

from Sind, he will come to Allahabad to wind up his home and to prepare the papers for handing over charge and the balance-sheet to date so that whenever Kripalani is ready to go there he can take charge.

I wish you will not listen to doctors when they object to the Indian sun. You have heard of Dr. Muthu. Revashankerbhai's son Dhiru was suffering from tuberculosis of the bone. After having tried sanatorium cure in Solon and all the doctors he could get hold of in Bombay, he sent for Dr. Muthu, paid him a fee of thousand rupees per day. Dr. Muthu had no better advice to offer than to prescribe open air, light food and sun treatment. The affected bone was discharging some time one pound of pus per day. The affected bone had to be exposed to the sun every morning for a few hours and he had to lie in the open air the whole day long. He was not even sent to a sanatorium. He is now completely cured. European sun may be better, but the Indian rival is by no means to be despised. Doctors here suggest the morning sun. They say that ultra-violet rays are best taken between 8 and 10 o'clock and in summer between 7 and 8. But it really depends upon the patient's condition.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15314

486. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 26, 1929

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Chi. Champa will reach there safely. She gets nervous too soon. Saroj of course did have a cough. These days many in Ahmedabad have it. Saroj's cough got bad in Ahmedabad but you must have seen that she is happy. Nevertheless, I do not mind your having called away Champa and her leaving. Let her return only when she wishes. She need not stay in the Udyoga Mandir against her wishes.

The purpose of this letter, however, is quite different. Write to Sardar Vallabhbhai from time to time. Send him copies of the speeches of the previous presidents. Tell him on what topics

you want him to speak. Everyone should send him an invitation. You had forgotten to observe all this courtesy towards Thakkarbapa.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5694

487. MY NOTES

STUDENTS AND THE STRIKE

As this strike drags on, the students are being tested. The fact that they have so far remained resolute does credit to them and takes the country forward. Now I feel inclined to suggest to them that they should do some work. Why should they not clean the lanes of Ahmedabad? They should have confidence that ultimately they will attend the same college honourably. The time is now approaching when the Principal himself will have to quit. In order to acquire this much strength, it is necessary for the students to engage themselves in social service. There is a Congress resolution that the boycott of foreign cloth should be effected through khadi. Will they not give up foreign cloth? Will they not collect it from others? Will they not wear khadi? Will they not sell khadi from door to door? Students should give thought to these questions.

SILENCE DURING SPINNING

One who does sacrificial spinning writes to say:[1]

I was unaware that silence could mean what this writer has interpreted it to mean. In recommending silence I implied that no one should gossip with those sitting around. I certainly did not imply that he who maintained silence should not sing a *bhajan* about Rama in his heart. Moreover, he who cannot thus repeat the name of Rama in his heart should certainly do so with his tongue. Since the example of a water-lift has been cited, I consider it necessary to make it clear that the *bhajan* which the farmer sings will have a good effect on a cultured listener, but we cannot assume that the same is always true of the peasant.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, mentioning the *bhajans* or devotional songs that a farmer used to sing while lifting water from the well, had asked Gandhiji why he had advised maintenance of silence during spinning and not singing *bhajans* or repeating Ramanama.

His lips sing the *bhajan* by force of habit but his mind may well be wandering elsewhere at that time. Hence we cannot acquit ourselves by singing *bhajans* aloud while spinning. It is only when the tongue is always in tune with the heart that the singing of a *bhajan* may be regarded as worth while. If we do not keep this in mind, we should assume with the poet that "all means become so many obstacles".

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-1-1929

488. HOW TO INCREASE THE SALE OF KHADI

In the *Khadi Patrika* Shri Vithaldas Jerajani has made an important suggestion about increasing the sale of khadi, from which I give the following extracts:[1]

This certainly is one way. I feel like suggesting another which springs from it. Any merchant in a village who wishes to invest even a small sum should buy khadi worth Rs. 10 or more on condition that if he could not sell it within a month he would return it at his own cost to the khadi bhandar. Even those who are not merchants but are desirous of doing this business can do so. In this there is no risk involved for either party and khadi can be propagated easily. A number of good and bad things have thus been propagated in the world. Within no time tea has been made popular all over India by taking it within easy reach of every home. But this is propaganda for a vice. This has resulted in nothing but a loss for the people. In khadi propaganda, the propagandist, the buyer and the thing—all three stand to gain and yet we do not find many persons willing to carry on this propaganda. In these circumstances, if there are a number of people willing to invest a capital of Rs. 10 and forgo interest on it, even then we should feel contented. But I must admit that there is a problem involved in this suggestion. If one man offers a hundred rupees and suggests that khadi worth ten rupees be propagated in ten villages, we can hardly afford to take those hundred rupees and our object too will not be served. My suggestion in effect emphasizes the necessity of having village workers only and the condition is that every one of them should invest a capital of ten rupees. This is because only if such persons

[1] These are not translated here. The correspondent had listed various facilities offered to traders by the Khadi Bhandar, Bombay.

are available, can they carry on propaganda for khadi in villages. That is to say, my suggestion envisages the search not for those who can donate a hundred rupees or more, but for khadi-lovers of one or more villages who will invest ten rupees of their own or those secured from their friends by virtue of their status and keep doing propaganda for khadi with that amount. Let Shri Vithaldas and all other lovers of khadi make this search.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-1-1929

489. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
January 27, 1929

I have your letter. I am sorry about Jamnabehn. Are you sending the parcel directly to Karachi or are you sending it to me? If it reaches me at Karachi the same time that I reach there, it would be of course ideal. I reach there on the 1st February, leaving Ahmedabad on the morning of the 31st instant.

About the message to be sent to Queen Souriya, what can poor Ba really write out. She doesn't follow the controversy. Whatever, therefore, she sends would be not hers but somebody else's. In all such matters, therefore, I should leave her severely alone. Nor am I sure that the step you propose is without question the proper step to take.

If I pass through Bombay on any account, I should love to give you the time you need.

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15000

490. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Sunday [January 27, 1929][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have been wanting to write this to you, but could find time to do so only today. I had long discussions with Chhaganlal. I see that just now you two will not be able to work in harmony. I, therefore, wish to act upon your first suggestion. That is, you should formally send in your resignation as Director of the Spinners' Association. Chhaganlal himself will attend to the work being done in the Ashram on behalf of the Association, and you should take up spinning, carding, etc., till Chhaganlal entrusts to you some other work. I want you to continue in the Mandir. It is necessary that the suspicion you harbour in your mind should be removed, or that I should believe about Chhaganlal what you do. It is a painful thing to me that he cannot work in harmony with you. You, too, are at fault in this, though unknowingly. Your letters to him are not such as will quench a fire. Apart from the fact that Chhaganlal cannot work in harmony with you, I see nothing but virtues in him, and their number increases day by day. Write to me and explain where I am making a mistake in this; or tell me when you are here. I shall be here up to 31st.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine—Part I, p. 49

[1] From the reference to the lack of understanding between the addressee and Chhaganlal Joshi; *vide* p. 352. Gāndhiji left on the Sind tour on February 2, 1929. The preceding Sunday was January 27.

491. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After *January 27, 1929*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letters. Gurudev's letter is very good and so is the other. Your visit was altogether well timed and well done.

You have dropped weight enormously. But you should have no difficulty in regaining it after full recovery and judicious dieting.

I have gained over ½ lb. without any fruit. I must now see what I can do during the Sind tour.

You will go slow in everything you do and keep your extremities and abdominal regions warm. Insist on sitting on a warm surface and therefore never move about without a thick *asan*[2].

Narandas has been withdrawn from the khadi depot. He will now be reserved for women's classes. Though this is an accident, it is a blessing in disguise. Krishnadas Gandhi left yesterday for Kashmir to help Harjivan[3] and to recuperate.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5338. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9393

492. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

January 28, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

Malkani advises me to abide by your programme and no other. He evidently does not know me still. But I knew you better before I began to know him as well. Hence his mistake is pardoned. Tell him. Ba, Pyarelal and Subbiah accompany me as far as I know at present. Narayandas[4] has a programme for Karachi which needs overhauling. Govindanand[5] wants me

[1] From the reference to Narandas in the last paragraph; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] Mat or carpet to sit on

[3] Harjivan Kotak who had established a branch of A.I.S.A. in Kashmir

[4] Narayandas Bechar, labour leader in Karachi

[5] Congress leader of Karachi

to visit Kotri. I am referring him to you. Kikibehn wants me to stay with her in Karachi. You will do what you can.

BAPU

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
MARKET ROAD, HYDERABAD, SIND

From the original: C.W. 9252. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

493. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

January 29, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I received together all the letters you had sent by three different mails. I have already sent another name for Dhairyabala. Today I am writing this letter in great hurry. Rasik has caught typhoid in Delhi. Kanti has been down with fever for the past three days. Such are the ups and downs over here.

I cannot advise the closing of *Indian Opinion*. A journal that has survived till this day cannot be allowed to close down. I would not mind if both of you had to spend your whole life there. That is how great tasks are accomplished. That is what single-minded devotion means. Yes, if you can make some other arrangement for running the paper and leave the place, I would not mind. Nor would I see anything wrong if Sushila came over here once and stayed for some time. I would be happy to see you three living happily.

I was sorry to learn about Charlie[1]. That is the way the world goes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4750

[1] An African employee at the Phœnix Press who had died

494. SPEECH TO GUJARAT COLLEGE STUDENTS, AHMEDABAD

January 30, 1929

I have to add one telegram to the many telegraphic messages that you are receiving from various places. This one has been sent by the women students of Bharat Bhushan Malaviyaji's Benares Hindu University. I have forgotten to bring that telegram here but its purpose is to congratulate the women of Gujarat College on their struggle.

You have received messages of gratitude today from all quarters but much remains to be done by you to deserve these congratulations. In a way it is risky to call me to such a meeting. If I have been invited here at the instance of the students, they have run a risk; and if Dr. Hariprasad has himself called me here then he has taken a still greater risk.

I am not in a position to give you encouragement. I believe that the time is now over when encouragement was needed in order to get work out of those who were ready to sacrifice themselves for the *yajna* of swaraj. The time has now come, when each one has to rely on his own strength. The struggle that you are carrying on today with dignity and the movement which is being carried on all over India will be futile if you fall back now, and you will harm the entire community of youth in India.

Do not remain indifferent towards the activities of your opponents; do not disregard them. He who disregards the ability of his enemies or opponents does in fact disregard his own self.

Your struggle — your strike — is not against your Principal. It is directed against the system under which the present Government and this college function. It is not that what your Principal has done is something new. Similar restrictions had been imposed in other colleges also, many had to suffer for disregarding them, many had to pay a fine and also to resort to flattery. You have been saved from this unhappy predicament.

You are a part of the nation and so you have felt that if you go to the college in spite of the betrayal, you will not uphold the nation's self-respect. This will certainly bring in welcome results. If an honourable settlement can be arrived at, do strive for it, and if at the same time you act politely there need be no doubt about your success. Your victory lies in your defeat. If you

have to stay out of college for a year it does not imply your defeat. It is when through a feeling of helplessness you forget your pledge, pay a fine, resort to flattery and go to the college, that you will have been defeated; I have come to give you this warning.

I can quite realize that you will feel unhappy when you have to lose a year or a term. Those who think that they have lost a year or a term do not realize the value of the strike. You had not calculated all this from the beginning but now you have realized that great results can come out of this small struggle. The longer you stay out (of college), and if you are also polite, the more your strength and that of the entire country will grow. The strength and vigour of the students all over India will increase.

I am not exaggerating when I say that you are inaugurating a new era. But this would be true only if you keep your resolve until the end. Some members of your committee had met me; I had told them to remain free from anxiety. You do not even need messages of encouragement. You have to cultivate your collective strength. It would be better if instead of returning to college you take up some other activity.

Your tactics as outlaws will bring credit to you only when you carry out successfully the task that you have taken upon yourselves and also give every moment of your life to it. Do credit to your activity as outlaws. These many messages of congratulations sent to you, what do they indicate? Those who have sent these messages say that a certain type of strength is now needed in India which they themselves lack, but which can be obtained from you. You can fulfil this desire of theirs and provide this strength only when you can maintain the solidarity of your organization.

Previously, I had given you some instructions about this and I remind you of them again. If you are prepared to make a sacrifice for securing swaraj, or for the sake of the country's honour, it is your dharma to give your full support to the completion of the programme of the Congress. It is the easiest, the simplest and the most readily comprehensible. Perhaps it does not interest you and you feel that it is an outdated thing but much can be derived from such activities and they have a great value. If that programme does not appeal to you, draw up another more to your liking.

If you always have a longing to hear speeches, when assembling on the sands of the river, you will be making a big mistake and remember that you will be tired of it in the end. You may like to hear the lectures in the colleges and to get medals and

add the B.A. degree to your name, but Acharya Kripalani is not going to give you any such thing here.

I can say with certainty, if you wish to bring glory to this effort, take up some constructive work. By doing so, you will set an example to other students. Khadi is the first thing I shall talk about. You can render much service by wearing and selling it. Until settlement is reached, you can carry on that work and collect foreign cloth from house to house. And if you wish to go a step further, bring it here and make a bonfire of it. The burning of foreign cloth will bring much credit to you. You will see an article about the ruin that we bring upon India by using foreign cloth. There must be at least some of it left with you. When you take up this work, the Government will also be convinced that students have now begun to work.

Among Tolstoy's stories, there is one in which Satan climbs on the top of a house to give a speech and, falling down, becomes unconscious. When he collapses, people say he has toppled down.

Even if you tumble down people will say that you have achieved something. The nation will certainly admit that these students have at any rate done something. You can take a vow to clean up the streets of Ahmedabad or do prohibition work. You can undertake many such tasks.

Do bear it in mind that a settlement which is not unconditional is worthless even if it fetches us crores of rupees.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 3-2-1929

495. TELEGRAM TO NARAYANDAS[1]

[On or after *January 30, 1929*]

NARAYANDAS ANANDJI
NANAWARA
KARACHI

YOUR TELEGRAM DISCONCERTING. POSTPONING VISIT. THOUGH PERSONALLY DO NOT MIND COLD CONSULT JAIRAMDAS INFORM WHEN TO START.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15315

[1] In reply to his telegram dated January 30, 1929, which read: "Extremely cold Quetta winds blowing. Feel your travelling Sind inadvisable now. Pray postpone week. . . . "

496. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

[On or after *January 30, 1929*][1]

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
MARKET ROAD
HYDERABAD (SIND)

HAVING RECEIVED PEREMPTORY WIRE FROM NARAYANDAS POSTPONING DEPARTURE PENDING YOUR INSTRUCTIONS. READY START FRIDAY OR SATURDAY IF DESIRED. WIRE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15315

497. A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBUTE

I have hitherto resisted the publication of the many tributes to the Rt. Hon. Sastri's work in South Africa that I have found in the cuttings friends in South Africa have sent me. But now that his return to the Motherland is imminent, I cannot resist the temptation to quote in full the following[2] ungrudging tribute from Professor Bell of Cape Town. His official work, great as it has been, has been outweighed by his unofficial contribution. His transparent sincerity and his passionate love of his country made him give unstintingly the whole of his matchless gifts to the service of the cause that took him to South Africa. The result is a changed atmosphere in that subcontinent and a smoother passage for his successor. Let me hope that the great service rendered by the distinguished patriot to the country will be crowned by a rousing reception on his landing not for his sake but for ours.

Young India, 31-1-1929

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Not reproduced here

498. MY APOLOGIES

Circumstances permitting, I had fully intended to undertake my long-talked-of European tour early this year. But after the most careful consideration and consultation with friends I have come to the conclusion that the circumstances compel me to give up the tour for this year at any rate. I dare not think of the next. A dear Danish friend writes to me saying I could usefully go to Europe only as a representative of free India. I feel the truth of the remark. But that is by the way.

Pandit Motilalji, to whom I had mentioned the matter in Calcutta, whilst he at first thought I should not go, has telegraphed withdrawing his objection, pressing me to fulfil the 'elaborate European programme' of which I had given him a rough idea. But now that I have freedom of action from him, my courage fails me. I have no voice from within prompting me to go. On the contrary, having put the constructive resolution before the Congress and having received universal support, I feel that I would be guilty of desertion if I now went away to Europe. It may be that those who voted for the resolution never meant to carry it out. It may be that I shall have to do nothing during the year in respect of the programme. But I feel that it is not for me to reason thus. I must not lose faith in the workers. I must, like the immortal Barkis, be ever 'willing'. The voice within tells me that I must not only hold myself in readiness to do what comes my way, but I must even think out and suggest means of working out what to me is a great programme. Above all I must prepare myself for the next year's struggle, whatever shape it may take.

Though one year's limit was not of my seeking, though I considered it to be too short a notice for the nation and for the British people, I could not make it a point of principle on which to break. No notice is too short for a vindication of one's birthright. When therefore I accepted the change from two years to one, I was quite serious. For me then I have burnt my boats. What was said by way of humour to a newspaper correspondent was also seriously meant by me. If the Nehru Report is not accepted by or on behalf of the British people before the end of the year, after midnight on December 31st next, it will cease to have any meaning for me, I must declare myself an Independencewallah. But if I mean this seriously, I may not leave India for the best

part of this year of probation and preparation. On the contrary, I must strain every nerve to carry out the preparatory programme.

The Satyagraha Ashram, now Udyoga Mandir, too, which rightly or wrongly I claim to be my best creation, demands just now my close attention, if it is to serve the purpose for which it has been created. And what message may I deliver to the West whilst it has yet been hardly delivered in India? Barring those who out of their partiality for me would have me in Europe and America at any cost, the peoples of the West would be justified in saying 'Physician, heal thyself'. I frankly confess that when I first tempted myself seriously to entertain a European invitation apart from my keen desire to see M. Romain Rolland face to face, I had no idea of seeking help for India in her fight for freedom, but I had a desire to deliver the message of non-violence. Not that I do not need all the help I can get from outside for my country, but I do not believe in a begging expedition for that purpose. That aid will come when we deserve it and then it will come without the asking. I therefore flattered myself with the belief that if I went to the West I should be able to interpret true non-violence to her by word of mouth. But the more I ponder over the thing, the more unworthy I appear to myself to be. I need greater preparation and greater self-purification to make me a worthy vehicle for the transmission of the unbroken message of what appears to me to be the only way of reaching truth which is God. For the time being therefore the friends in the West would pardon me for my inability to visit them personally. The wish is there, capacity is wanting. Let them pray with me that I may have the clearest possible light. Meanwhile let these columns be a living bond between them and me.[1]

But with the postponement of my European visit my eyes turn to Gujarat. The workers of Gujarat can, if they will, get a great deal done by Gujarat which has contributed its full share since the era of non-co-operation. I still stand by what I said in 1921. Even if a single taluk of Gujarat becomes totally ready and is prepared to make sacrifices, swaraj can be won through them in a trice. It is to be seen what role Gujarat plays.

Young India, 31-1-1929 and *Navajivan*, 3-2-1929

[1] What follows is a translation of the last paragraph of a Gujarati article "European Visit Postponed" appearing in *Navajivan*, 3-2-1929.

499. *NOT THAT WAY*

I publish below a precious letter[1] from a Secretary of a provincial Congress Committee. It shows vividly what happened at the last Congress. Not one province, but many did what has been described in the communication. Surely it must be clear as daylight to everybody that the coming of swaraj will be indefinitely postponed if we poison the very source of our strength. And if in an institution where there is no money and less fame, we engage in a scramble for election and manipulate voting lists, what shall we do when a huge machinery with all its terrible temptations comes into our hands? I know the answer that can be given to this objection. If it satisfied patriots, I should be sorry.

Young India, 31-1-1929

500. *HINDI IN THE SOUTH*

Sjt. Jamnalalji's tour in the South on behalf of Hindi should result in a double response in men and women desirous of learning Hindi and in contributions for conducting the Hindi Prachar office. Accounts received from Madras show that Sjt. Jamnalalji's earnestness is producing the desired effect. So long as the leaders in the South refuse to learn Hindi, it must remain almost cut off from the rest of India. Let it be clearly understood that Hindi is not to supplant the indigenous languages but it is to be the medium of inter-provincial intercourse and the official language of all all-India organizations. Needless to say that Hindi includes its Urdu form.

Young India, 31-1-1929

[1] Not reproduced here. It described in detail the irregularities in the registration of the delegates to the Calcutta Congress Session.

501. NOTES

Students' Strike[1]

The strike of the students of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, continues with unabated vigour. The students are showing determination, calmness and solidarity that are worthy of all praise. They are beginning only now to feel their strength. And I venture to think that they will feel it still more if they will do some constructive work. It is my conviction that our schools and colleges, instead of making us manly, make us obsequious, timid, indecisive and ballastless. Manliness consists not in bluff, bravado or lordliness. It consists in daring to do the right and facing consequences, whether it is in matters social, political or other. It consists in deeds not in words. The students have now before them probably a long time of waiting. They must not be disheartened if events shape themselves so. It will then be up to the public to intervene. It will be up to the student world all over India to vindicate the right which is entirely on the side of the students. Those who would study the question in all its fulness can secure from Sjt. Mavlankar copies of all the relevant papers. The fight of the Ahmedabad students is a fight not for their own personal rights, it is a fight for the honour of students in general and therefore in a sense for national honour. Students who have been fighting so pluckily as these are doing deserve the fullest public support.

And this the students will surely get if they will engage in some constructive national activity. They will lose nothing by doing national work. They need not confine themselves to the Congress programme, if it does not commend itself to them. The chief thing is to demonstrate their capacity for holding together and doing independent solid work. The charge is often brought against us that we are good only at oratorical displays and fruitless momentary demonstrations, but fail when we are called upon to *do* work that requires cohesion, co-operation, grit and unflinching determination. The students have a splendid opportunity of falsifying the charge. Will they rise to the occasion?

They may not lose faith on any account whatsoever. The College is the nation's property. If we were not demoralized, a

1 *Vide* also pp. 412-4

foreign Government should never be able to hold our property or make it practically criminal for students to take part in the nation's battle for freedom, which it should be the duty and privilege of students to lead.

LAPSE OF MEMORY[1]

Govindbabu of Champapurhat, Utkal, tells me that in "The Story of My Experiments with Truth"[2], I have erroneously mentioned two professional spinners of Bombay as having taught spinning to Shrimati Gangabehn, Avantikabai, and Ramibai and that it was he whom I had deputed to teach these sisters. I am thankful for having had the error pointed out to me. Now that I have taxed my memory, I do remember that I asked Govindbabu to teach many in Bombay who wanted to learn spinning. I have no doubt that in the "Story" there are several such omissions. Only the "Story" has been written not to issue certificates to deserving workers but to relate incidents illustrative of the working of the law of Truth. Those innumerable workers who have helped me in my pursuit must find in service its own reward. And Govindbabu has had ample reward in that from an indifferent spinning teacher he has developed into the founder and manager of an Ashram in Utkal which is supported almost wholly from donations given to him by Gujarati patrons. He will be more than compensated for his services, if he makes of the Ashram an efficient institution forming a nucleus for village reconstruction. He has set up an ambitious programme for himself. Khadi, medical aid, national education, service of 'untouchables' are a big morsel for anybody. But faith can overcome mountains. It is well with Govindbabu if he has faith and if he can show himself deserving of the help he is receiving.

VILLAGE WORKERS' TRAINING CLASS

Acharya Jugal Kishore of Prem Mahavidyalaya, Brindavan, sends me an ambitious and interesting scheme for the training of village workers through that institution.[3] The scheme was inaugurated last December. He now writes:

> The village Workers' Training Class has already begun to function with five students on the roll and two more students agreeing to join it

[1] This was published in *Navajivan*, 27-1-1929 under the sub-title "An Omission".

[2] *Vide An Autobiography*, Pt. V, Ch. XL.

[3] *Vide* p. 403.

in about a week's time. Besides attending lectures on economics and citizenship which for the time being are given by me, they are attending to spinning and carding under Bharatbhai's instruction. We have been able to make arrangements locally with the Municipal Doctor to give them lectures and exercises on first aid and sanitation, hygiene and physiology. Besides this, they go to villages round about at least once a week, collecting statistics of the conditions in those villages. We are thinking of starting a small centre in one or two villages when we are able to find a suitable field for it. I am hoping that other students of this institution will also be aroused to take greater interest in village work. We have already a Hindustani Seva Dal here and hope to make it a more active and useful body than it has been so far.

The fewness of candidates need not worry the reader. The restrictions put upon admissions naturally keep back many from joining. And it is well that it is so in the beginning. For only those are admitted who among other things pledge themselves to devote at least 10 years of their life to village work after completing the course of two years. Needy candidates receive a stipend of from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per month. After completion of the course, they are to receive according to their proved needs from Rs. 30 to Rs. 75 per month. I commend the scheme to the attention of all who are desirous of promoting village reconstruction. They can get a copy of the scheme on application to the Secretary of the Institution. The Acharya invites the co-operation of individuals and kindred bodies,

(a) by awarding stipends,

(b) by arranging to enable the candidates under training to receive the practical training under the organizations for village uplift,

(c) by engaging the services of those who will have completed their course of training here,

(d) by donations and presents of useful books for the use of the students of this class,

(e) by their suggestions and advice, and

(f) by periodical lectures on the subjects of village problems.

I congratulate Acharya Jugal Kishore on his courage in having inaugurated a scheme that can, if well worked, yield mighty results.

Young India, 31-1-1929

502. MESSAGE TO "MAJUR SANDESH"[1], AHMEDABAD

[*January 31, 1929*][2]

The labourers should fully try for their rights, but in that they must observe courtesy and peace. The labourers have a right to go on strike if the arbitrators do not give their award or if the owners do not go to the arbitrators or if the owners do not act according to the decisions of the arbitrators. They must not lose patience under any circumstances after going on strike. They must not intimidate those who do not join the strike. So far as the strike in the Gujarat Ginning Mill is concerned, they have to do as they are directed by Shrimati Anasuyabehn, Mr. Shankerlal Banker and the labour union secretaries.

The Hindu, 1-2-1929

503. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

SABARMATI,
January 31, 1929

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. I do not mind your not being present at the prayers. But your unhappiness at not being able to come pleases me. Once we realize the significance of prayer, it becomes more essential for us than food and water.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6064. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

[1] Organ of the Majur Mahajan, Ahmedabad
[2] Released by the Free Press of India from Ahmedabad on this date

504. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. You need not apologize. I know how helpless a busy man often becomes as to his movements.

I am leaving for Sind tomorrow and I shall be back on the 15th February. I shall be at the Ashram at least up to the 23rd or 24th instant.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. PAUL, ESQ.
MAITLAND HOUSE, DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15003

505. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

You should carefully read the Punjab letter that I have reproduced in *Young India*[2] about what was done in Calcutta. Probably you knew everything of what is stated in the letter. I wish that you will make it your business first to put the Congress Committees in order and then organize the work in connection with the constructive programme. Unless by some unforeseen circumstances there is an honourable settlement with Great Britain, there will be practically no other party save the party of independence in the country. But the cry will be ineffective if we cannot put up a proper fight. If that fight is to be put up through the Congress, then the Congress must be a living thing. And if it is to be a non-violent fight then the present constructive programme ought to be worked now for all it is worth. Apart from the fact, therefore, that you, as is your wont, having taken up the secretaryship,

[1] Dated January 29, 1929. The addressee had expressed his inability to go over to Sabarmati before the end of the month.

[2] *Vide* p. 418.

would work your office whole-heartedly, I would like you on the strength of merits also to give your undivided attention to the Congress programme. I cannot help feeling that we can do much with the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi and, if there are enough workers, also about picketing liquor shops. And if these things are to be done, I think that it is necessary for you to travel in all the provinces and first put the machinery in order.

They stopped me from leaving for Sind yesterday owing to the terrible cold winds that had suddenly overtaken Sind.[1] It was foolish of them to have stopped me, but I was helpless. I am now leaving tomorrow. You will therefore post-date the programme by two days.

Sitla Sahai is leaving tomorrow to prepare balance-sheets, etc. I expect him back by the time I return from Sind.

Now that the European visit is dropped, you will be free to take me to the U.P. Andhra and Burma which must precede will prevent me from going there before the last week of April.

I hope Kamala is better.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
11 CLIVE ROAD, NEW DELHI

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15318

506. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1929

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

I have your letter. You have to be firm and strong if you want the Punjab to come out well during the Congress. Unless the Congress is put on a proper footing, you should refuse to give any help and even make a public statement. As it is I am sending your letter to Motilalji and asking him to do whatever is possible.[2]

[1] *Vide* p. 414.
[2] *Vide* the following item.

If I were you, I should not bring in Lalaji Memorial in discussing the subject. Let the Memorial stand on its own footing. You should go on with collections irrespective of whether the Congress is to be held in Lahore or not. Those who want to revere Lalaji's memory will pay in any case. What I am anxious about is that the Congress in the Punjab should be a genuine register of representatives.

You will see the letter I have published in *Young India*. Of course, you will easily guess that it is from the Punjab. What a heart-breaking revelation. It is this root evil which I am likely to deal with.

I am leaving for Sind tomorrow and shall return on the 15th instant. The enclosed is my programme.

How is Krishna doing?

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT K. SANTANAM
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 15319

507. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 1, 1929

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your telegram. You will have read what I have said in *Young India* about the European visit.[1] I therefore need not enter into the reasoning that decided the matter for me. When I came to the final conclusion, it was like a weight lifted off my back. And your telegram confirms the correctness of my decision.

I sent the Sind programme to Jawahar and he must have shown it to you already. But to make assurance doubly sure I am sending you a copy. There is an alteration of dates somewhat because owing to the terrific [cold] that has overtaken the country they stopped me from leaving yesterday. I am now leaving tomorrow morning.

I enclose herewith Santanam's letter. It speaks for itself. I wish you would send for the Punjab workers and adjust their differences. If we are to do any work at all the next Congress must be a genuine affair, a true register of elected representatives.

[1] *Vide* pp. 416-7.

For ready reference I send you a marked copy of *Young India* containing a provincial Congress Committee Secretary's letter revealing true facts. That letter you will easily guess refers to the Punjab. In order to spare the feelings of the Punjab workers I have removed reference to names. That letter shows how practically the whole of the delegation to the Bengal Congress was manipulated. You were present when Pattabhi[1] was relating what was done in Andhra. If all the Congress registers were examined they will reveal a terrible state of things. I wish that Jawahar could travel throughout all the provinces and see that the Congress organizations become living bodies.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILALJI
11 CLIVE ROAD, NEW DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15320

508. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 2, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I was detained by the Sind people for two days owing to the extraordinary cold. The programme must therefore be post-dated by two days. Rasik[2] is lying dangerously ill at Delhi. Ba and Kanti have gone there. He has been unconscious for five days. God's will be done. I return to the Mandir on 15th instant. We are all travelling third class. The closet is wretched, otherwise it is quite all right. Prof. Kripalani is with me.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
KHADI DEPOT, CHHATWAN
POST CHHOTARIPAT, BIHAR

From the original: C.W. 5339. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9394

[1] Pattabhi Sitaramayya

[2] Son of Harilal, who had gone to Delhi to help Devdas in khadi work; he died on February 8, 1929.

509. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

February 2, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your wires at Siddhapur. I got one at Marwar junction too. There is very little hope[1]. Ba and Kanti got down to take a train to Delhi. May such occasions make us gentle and more devoted to duty. Swami and Yehabhai met me at Siddhapur station. Ramniklal should go there, tour the area and report about the women there who are so poor that they would be ready to card and spin. The intending donor is a friend of Punjabhai and wants khadi work to be started in Siddhapur itself.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 40

510. STUDENTS OF GUJARAT COLLEGE

As the students—both boys and girls—of Gujarat College gain glory day by day, their responsibility too increases. To the extent their strike drags on and their determination increasingly attracts the entire country's attention, the people's expectations of them rise also. This is exactly like what happened in Bardoli. One can say that at the outset the strike concerned the students alone. Now it concerns the whole of India. Hence they cannot relax now. I hear from all quarters that the majority of students will never break their pledge. Nevertheless, in accordance with the saying, "The wary is always happy", I do not think it is discourteous to sound a note of warning that the students should remain vigilant and should not succumb to any kind of temptation or fear.

It is only if the students jointly undertake some constructive work that this strike will bring about the best result. There are many such tasks. A letter from a citizen of Ahmedabad about

[1] Of the survival of Rasik

the insanitary condition of the city appears in this very issue.[1] This gives an adequate description of the filth there. Along with that letter the writer sent figures of the rate of child mortality which should put us to shame, but I do not publish them because they are well known. The president of the Youth League, Dr. Hariprasad [Desai], has himself given them publicity. The students can easily undertake the job of removing this filth. By showing the people ways of doing away with such dirt, they can promote the city's health. There is altruism as well as glory in this work. Some such work will serve as an example to every student in India. They will earn the blessings of the citizens and I believe this is one fine way of bringing the strike to an early end. As long as the students do not engage themselves in some work, there is danger of their falling and Mr. Shirras too will attempt to beat them down.

This much is clear that the students cannot spend a long time in merely listening to speeches and lectures. Now every step must be taken on the assumption that the strike will drag on. It is proper and necessary that we should be ready for a settlement. We should not take any drastic step that would preclude a settlement for ever. Likewise we cannot sit idle waiting for a compromise. Assuring themselves that it will come off honourably and at the proper time, the students should not worry about it and should now throw themselves whole-heartedly into work. If this is done, there is a chance of an early settlement, since the students' burying themselves in work will be regarded as a symbol of their strength and when their strength is tried, the attempt to cause disunity among them will stop and attempts will be made only to please them.

The task of removing the dirt of Ahmedabad has been mentioned only by way of example. That work is extremely necessary. Since it is a local job which can be completed in a short time, it should attract all the greater interest. As it is a local matter, the citizens have a right to expect that work from the students. It is difficult to get that work done by hired persons. As volunteers can do it regularly, I have drawn attention to it. But it would do if the students find out some other work which they like and approve of. The object is that some constructive work of public service should be done collectively. I have already drawn attention to khadi and other activities envisaged in the Congress programme. All those items of work are to my mind fine and

[1] *Vide* pp. 429-30.

necessary. I hope that the students will not let go a good opportunity which has readily presented itself. It is only when the strength which the students have realized is consolidated, that the country will benefit by it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-2-1929

511. *MY NOTES*

Suspicious

A gentleman from Wadhwan writes:[1]

To believe that I will be able to convince the State and the leaders of Wadhwan only shows the writer's naivety. I do not even know if those who have enforced the above regulations will ever read my criticism. But in the hope that this article will reach them, I can certainly say that in this age of purification, the injustice shown in the above clause to those whom we regard as untouchables, is improper. The Dheds, Bhangis and Chamars are our brothers and sisters; our own kith and kin. In not acknowledging this fact we do injustice to ourselves. And by regarding them as outcastes we have invited the criticism of the whole world upon ourselves. If there is any national awakening in the public of Wadhwan, the citizens should oppose this clause and if the opposition is not heeded, the people should renounce a municipality which upholds such caste distinctions. Whether or not the citizens practise such a boycott, it is my advice to the untouchable brothers that they should not be guilty of electing a representative from among the 'touchables'.

Slums of Ahmedabad

A citizen writes[2] about the slums of Ahmedabad to which Dr. Hariprasad has given publicity:

Every citizen, man and woman, needs to ponder over this letter. There is nothing new in it. Nor is what is already known

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that Wadhwan State had agreed to constitute an elected municipality. But there was a clause in its constitution whereby untouchables would have to elect a representative from the 'touchable' class.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the insanitary conditions prevailing in Ahmedabad and his own unsuccessful efforts to improve them. He wanted that children in primary schools should be given lessons in cleanliness.

put here in a new form; yet this letter draws attention to something we know. As the insanitary conditions in Ahmedabad are such as to arouse shame in the Municipality and the citizens, any amount of attention paid to it cannot be regarded as too much. If we cannot keep clean our own courtyard, how then can we help in keeping the entire country clean? If we leave our courtyard stinking, then there is every chance of a foul stench arising from our swaraj. Therefore, it is the duty of the Municipality and the citizens of Ahmedabad to adopt ways and means of clearing up this filth. It is possible that many who have got used to this filth may like to tolerate it, but to continue such a slumber in this age of purification should be a matter of shame. The fact that there is an economic loss in preserving this filth is something which should be understood by the wealthy citizens of Ahmedabad. Because, diseases spread fast owing to uncleanliness and lead to loss of manpower. When an inanimate engine stops working we start calculating the loss caused by this stoppage. The body is a living engine and when it stops working there is a twofold loss. Idleness following illness is one loss and another is the cost of medical treatment. And the individual's loss should be regarded in the final calculation as a loss of public wealth. In the above letter a suggestion has been made to educate pupils in schools about hygiene. This is worth welcoming. If all the students of Ahmedabad, who are mature, are invited to work for cleaning up the city's filth, and if after forming them into batches, the teachers set out with brooms and buckets, they can change the appearance of Ahmedabad in no time and the students will readily receive practical and real education.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-2-1929

512. A YOUNG MAN'S DILEMMA[1]

A Patidar young man writes:

> My parents want me to be married this very year and insist on my obeying their wishes in this respect. . . . In my community no one can secure a bride without conforming to the condition of *sata*, i.e., without offering a girl of one's family in exchange. Child-marriage is the rule. In my case too girls of nine or ten years of age only are available and that too on the condition that we conform to the condition of *sata*. My father says that even this may not be possible afterwards, if we miss the opportunity this year. If I say 'no' my mother weeps and creates no end of trouble in the family. I am a Patidar young man of 22 years of age. My parents will not hear of my marrying a widow or outside my caste. What am I to do in the circumstances?

I know many a young man who is in the same dilemma as this Patidar youth. According to our Shastras, a boy of 16 years and over should be regarded by his parents as a friend whom they should take in their confidence and not as a child whom they can coerce. But some parents in our country seem to think that even their grown-up children are bound to follow every wish of theirs—especially when it relates to such things as marriage—as if they could have no will of their own in the matter. And if this is the attitude with regard to the sons, the plight of the daughters may well be imagined. It seems to me that in all such contingencies it is not only the right but the religious duty of young men and young girls not to be afraid of the parents' wrath. It has been my experience that when a grown-up boy or girl takes up a just and right position and adheres to it with absolute firmness there is the least amount of difficulty created by the parents. When once they realize that the resolution of their children is absolutely unalterable, they get reconciled to it. For behind the parents' insistence there is always the ultimate hope that it would bring their children to their viewpoint. But when this hope is destroyed further insistence becomes meaningless and is therefore given up. My advice to the young man in question, therefore, is to refuse to be party to the double sin of marrying a child girl and of conforming to the evil practice of *sata*. He must not mind

[1] The original Gujarati article appeared in *Navajivan*, 3-2-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

how much domestic trouble he has to face as a result of his refusal. He should consider it a virtue to marry outside his sub-caste or to marry a widow, subject to the necessary limitations.

Young India, 11-4-1929

513. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

KARACHI,
Sunday, February 3, 1929

CHI. KUSUM,

The women's section should be cleaner. Let all the women divide the work among themselves. A lot of water is thrown in the kitchenyard; this should stop. Now that you have two bathrooms outside, everyone had better go there. The room where Yashodabehn[1] lives, that too should be cleaner. Do something about the water. I am feeling weak these days. I cannot understand why.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1775

514. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Sunday [February 3, 1929][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I hope you got the postcard I wrote to you from Marwar Junction.

From Devdas's wire it seems there is little hope of Rasik surviving. We should, on occasions like this, put into practice the ideals of knowledge which we repeat mechanically every day.

Let Ramniklal go to Siddhapur, tour the surrounding villages and examine the conditions of the women there. He told me that this was two or three days' work. The women should be paid at the normal rate, and they should agree to learn carding. There is one Chhotubhai there who is ready to look after this work. I am not hopeful of anything coming out of this, but it is better that we examine the possibilities.

[1] Wife of Suraj Bhanji, a khadi worker of Ambala

[2] *Vide* p. 427.

Take care and see that the arrangement about someone keeping a watch and sleeping in the office is not neglected. The working of the kitchen ought to become smooth. In any case, attend to the problem of vegetables. Take necessary measures about ghee.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 40

515. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Sunday [February 3, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You have to be very firm and brave. Make all efforts to be self-reliant.

Know all the details about Rasik from Chhaganbhai. You shall not fall ill now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3318

516. SPEECH IN REPLY TO MUNICIPAL ADDRESS, KARACHI

February 3, 1929

Replying to the address[2], Gandhiji, speaking in Hindi, thanked the Municipality for its address full of warm and affectionate appreciation. He also thanked the Parsi ladies who had prepared a beautiful khadi garland and a bouquet that were presented to him. He acknowledged that the Parsis had always been most kind towards him wherever he happened to go and wherever they were to be found. It was therefore no surprise to him to receive those tokens of affection.

Adverting to the municipal administration he said that the fact that Mr. Jamshed Mehta was at its head was the guarantee of the administrative efficiency and purity of the Municipality. He was glad that the franchise qualification was fairly low but he endorsed the hope of the councillors that at no distant time they would have adult suffrage which was becoming daily

[1] From the reference to Rasik's illness; *vide* the preceding item.
[2] Read out by Jamshed Mehta, President of the Karachi Municipality

recognized and that purely monetary test, however low it was, was an indifferent and inadequate makeshift which excluded many worthy citizens from exercising their undoubted right of administering municipal affairs through the elected representatives. He was glad to note that the Municipality was alive to the elementary needs of the citizens.

Referring to the attempts which were being made to ensure pure milk supply in the city he said that he was sure that Karachi had enough talent and money to embark upon a proper dairy system. The supply of pure milk and pure ghee especially for the aged and the infants in the cities of India was a daily felt want and he would be glad if Karachi would give a lead to all municipalities of India. It would be regarded as a matter of shame for any city not to have a proper supply of pure milk and ghee. He wished the Municipality every success.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 5-2-1929

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM DR. B. C. ROY

SHILLONG,
October 28, 1928

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I had written to you some months ago to find out from you your directions regarding the Exhibition to be held in connection with the 43rd session of the Congress. I confess I did not get from you any definite instructions for us to follow as your letter was vague and guarded. It is time now (I hope it is not too late) that I received them and shall be grateful if I am told exactly what are the decisions of the Calcutta Committee which embarrass you. I understood from Mr. Khandelwal just before I left Calcutta that you had not decided to come to Calcutta during the Congress.

The Calcutta Congress Committee have so far decided (I am speaking from memory)

(i) not to exhibit any textiles made of foreign yarn or anything of this nature manufactured in any foreign country,

(ii) not to allow any advertisements re[garding] the same,

(iii) not to allow the exhibition of any British goods,

(iv) not to allow any advertisements of these goods,

(v) to allow the exhibition of small machinery (non-British) good enough for cottage industries,

(vi) to allow the exhibition of mill-cloth only if the Committee is convinced that the cloth is made of Indian yarn.

While the Committee have come to these conclusions yet I am perfectly certain that no member of the Committee will insist on the compliance by us of any or all of these conditions if they knew that you had objection to any of these decisions.

We have set apart a large portion of the exhibition grounds for khaddar cloth. I am now informed by Pandit Motilalji that the A.I.S.A. have decided to abstain from being represented in the exhibition. This decision is unfortunate. As an humble office-bearer of the Congress I am bound to see that the Association is represented at the exhibition as also to take orders from my Committee. Please do not leave me in this predicament. Kindly revise your decision and come to Calcutta. We shall not accept a 'no' from you. If necessary I will try and close down the exhibition. Please let me know your

wishes and I will try and follow them. Only I would request you not to be too unbending.

I am going down to Calcutta in two days and I shall be anxiously awaiting a reply there from you, giving me definite directions. The Seva Sadan is going on well. I do hope you will find time to open the new wards when in Calcutta. We are looking forward to it.

Yours sincerely,
B. C. ROY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14852

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM SHAUKAT ALI'S LETTER

SULTANI MANSION, DONGRI, BOMBAY
October 23, 1928

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I had received your letter of the September 24th all right. . . . I know from the writings in the Press that your name was being dragged in to raise the people's feeling against me. . . . Our Kohat differences and other things had also been mentioned. So I do not feel surprised that at Simla Mahadev heard something about it. Here is what I had said about you and I assure you that in giving the details of the incident I depend not only on my own good memory and also on Shuaib's, but Dr. Ansari or even Pandit Motilal cannot disprove my facts. . . . I had real quarrel with Panditji at Ambalal Sarabhai's and very nearly came to blows, as my blood boiled when in our face he was heaping abuses on us "No-changers". . . . You have forgiven them, may have even forgotten the wrongs they may have done, but most of us cannot do it. . . . You can retire from active politics, being many-sided, but unfortunately we cannot; and I have got to save my Muslim brethren from going to the English fold which means death to them and a great deal of harm to Islam to the service of which I have devoted my life. . . . I have always liked Srinivasa Iyengar. He is impulsive and open, may be changeable, but he is sincere and good-tempered. Whether his sponsorship of the Madras Resolution was responsible for Panditji's opposition I cannot say. . . . In May last I came for the first time in touch with the All-Parties Conference at Bombay and, you know, in your presence Motilalji and myself differed so strongly. . . . Over this reservation of Muslim seats question he gave out strong views and we had equally strong views on that subject. You were in agreement with Motilalji and wanted the reservation to go both in the case of majority and minority provinces. . . . The Working Committee of the Congress discussed this question

for three days and the majority did not want the Madras Resolution to be re-opened. There was great fear of the collapse of the All-Parties Conference and to overcome the deadlock you had suggested the formation of this committee to draft the constitution in the *spirit of the Madras Resolution*. Panditji asked you to give the names of the members also and you suggested four names — Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Aney. On this Dr. Ansari said that personally he had always been opposed to the reservation of seats but the general Muslim public did not agree with him on this point. He would not be able to find time to work on this committee. . . . Mrs. Naidu and I suggested Shuaib's name in place of Dr. Ansari who could not work on the committee; but you said, "No, not Shuaib", which rather surprised me and I said, "Why not, Sir? There must be someone to represent the Muslim point of view and Shuaib will be the best person." You said in reply that he would not work and give time or some such words; and when we assured you that he would work, you withdrew your objection, and Shuaib's name was added and also, I believe, Subhas Bose's. It is this incident that I have mentioned in the statement which I issued at Delhi on the 4th September on my return from Lucknow Conference. You yourself say in your letter of the 24th referring to this incident, "I do not even remember what I said about him and others." I never said in my statement that you *made every effort to keep Shuaib out*. I only gave the true picture of that scene and said that you objected to Shuaib's name which was proposed but afterwards agreed saying that if Shuaib promises to work I have no further objection. That is all that I have said about you. I did say then and say it now also that the original committee of four as proposed by you — Ansari, Motilal, Jawaharlal and Aney—was composed of men who did not want Muslim reservation of seats, but at the open meeting of the All-Parties Conference, I was surprised that other names were added to the committee, i.e., Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Joshi, Sardar Mangal Singh, so that Shuaib's alone, and possibly Subhas Bose were the only members who could put forward the Muslim point of view, the views of the others being against the reservation of seats.

I am afraid you have been out of touch with all that is going on in this connection. You saw my English letter to Dr. Ansari, but you did not see the reply he issued after reading my statement of the 4th September in *Hamdard* and to which this letter was a rejoinder. Naturally you would not like two brothers Dr. Ansari and myself fighting over anything. . . . My quarrel really is not with Ansari but with Pandit Motilal, who knowing that I was giving expression to the views of millions of Mussalmans, yet would not listen. . . . It was a big task before us to make them accept Joint Electorates which, I think, in itself was a very great gain. . . .

I am sorry to write this letter to you. . . . Ansari is a gentleman and an honest man and I love him; but he is not strong. . . .

. . . It matters little if any action of mine annoys you today or any action of yours makes me angry. We have fought together side by side and will carry the wounds we earned together to our graves. They are a link between us, but I beg you not to ignore the warning I give you. We cannot allow things to drift because that way lies danger and that terribly ugly thing called civil war which means a brother killing a brother. I must stop it in my own way and I beg you to do the same in your way. . . .

Yours in great sorrow,
SHAUKAT ALI

From a photostat: S.N. 13710

Aaj: Hindi daily published from Banaras.

Amrita Bazar Patrika: English daily published from Calcutta.

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(*The*) *Hindustan Times*: English daily published from New Delhi.

Letters to Ashram Sisters: Ed. D. B. Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1952.

Navajivan: Gujarati weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

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Sabarmati (Gujarati): Magazine of the National School at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

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(*The*) *Tribune*: English daily published from Ambala.

Young India: English weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

CHRONOLOGY

(*November 1, 1928—February 3, 1929*)

November 1: Gandhiji gave interview to special correspondent of *The Civil and Military Gazette.*

November 4: In *Navajivan* article "Satyagraha Ashram", discussed changes made after renaming the Satyagraha Ashram as Udyoga Mandir.

November 17: Lajpat Rai died; Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on his death.

November 18: In Ahmedabad, spoke at Lajpat Rai condolence meeting.

November 21: Gave award on the Labour Union subscription.

November 23: Left Ahmedabad for Wardha.

November 24: Reached Wardha; remained in the Wardha Ashram up to December 20.

November 26: Issued and endorsed appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund.

November 29: On National Mourning Day for Lajpat Rai addressed Ashram inmates in Wardha.

December 20: Left Wardha for Calcutta Congress session.
At Nagpur railway station, gave interview to friends.

December 21: Arrived at Sambalpur *en route* to Calcutta.

December 22: At Sambalpur; spoke at public meeting in the morning; addressed women's meeting in the evening, and left for Calcutta.
The All-Parties Convention met at Calcutta.

December 23: Gandhiji arrived in Calcutta in the morning.
Met a deputation from the Punjab.

December 26: Moved resolution on Nehru Report at the Subjects Committee meeting.

December 27: In *Young India* wrote an article on Saunders's assassination.

December 28: Moved compromise resolution on Nehru Report in the Subjects Committee meeting.

December 29: Annual session of Indian National Congress began in Calcutta.
Gandhiji moved resolution on constructive programme at the Subjects Committee meeting.
Presided over the Rashtra Bhasha Sammelan in the evening.
In *Young India* article "What Is in a Name?", discussed Dominion Status *v.* Independence.

December 31: Moved resolution on Nehru Report in the open session of the Congress.

1929

January 1: Opened a khadi bhandar in Calcutta.
Moved resolution on constructive programme in the open session of the Congress.
Annual session of the Congress concluded.
In the All-Parties Convention Gandhiji moved a resolution containing general agreement on communal problems.
All-Parties Convention adjourned *sine die*.

January 2: Gandhiji gave interview to *The Englishman* and *Daily Telegraph* clarifying his standpoint regarding Congress Resolution on Nehru Report.
Inaugurated the new block of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan.
Visited Khadi Pratishthan at Sodepur.
Visited the Vishwa Kosha Bhawan and met Nagendra Nath Basu.

January 3: Left Calcutta at night for Delhi *en route* to Ahmedabad.
Students' strike started in the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

January 4: Halted at Delhi; met Dr. Zakir Husain.

January 5: Reached Ahmedabad at night.

January 9: Attended the Arbitration Board's meeting regarding the Gujarat Ginning Mill dispute.

January 10: Spoke at the Youth Week celebration.

January 11: Presided over the seventh convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith; spoke at the presentation of khadi purse to J. B. Kripalani.

January 12: Sent message to the third gathering of Graduates of the Vidyapith.

January 14: Gandhiji attended Arbitration Board's meeting.

January 17: In *Young India* article "Then and Now", compared the present Congress programme with that of 1920-21.

January 19: An Article "Pran Jaayi Aru Vachan Na Jaayi" written by Gandhiji for *Navajivan* was read at a Gujarat College students' meeting.

January 24: *Young India* published articles on "Duty of Resistance" and "Scheme for Boycott of Foreign Cloth through Khadi".

January 30: Gandhiji spoke to Gujarat College students.

January 31: In *Young India* article "My Apologies", announced the cancellation of his proposed European tour.

February 1: Wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru to reorganize the Congress for following year's non-violent non-co-operation campaign.

February 2: Left on Sind tour.

February 3: Reached Karachi in the afternoon; spoke in reply to the Municipal address at public meeting.
Last chapter of Autobiography appeared in *Navajivan*.

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ERRATA

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9	Line 5	I hope to the end.	I hope to, to the end.
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185	Para 3, line 3	task	performance
269	Footnote 1	pp. 312-3	pp. 313-4
372	Item 437, para 2, line 1	Sunday. I suppose tomorrow	Sunday I suppose. Tomorrow
397	Footnote 1 [illegible]5	(Friends Quak-	(Friends are Quak-